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Pepperdine University  
Graduate School of Education and Psychology

WHAT QUALITIES MAKE AN EFFECTIVE TEACHER LABOR UNION LEADER?

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Education in Organizational Leadership

by

Rosie Rogers

July, 2017

Robert Barner, Ph.D. – Dissertation Chairperson

This dissertation, written by

Rosie Rogers

under the guidance of a Faculty Committee and approved by its members, has been submitted to and accepted by the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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## ABSTRACT

The power of union membership has declined in the United States substantially. Many manufacturers have moved many of their operations to new jurisdictions, to America's south and to other low wage countries, to take advantage of the tax incentives many jurisdictions have to offer in most instances, a nonunion workforce. Teachers' unions have experienced other external factors, such as the results of Right to Work legislation, and the charter school movement.

This study researched the history of teacher labor union leadership and explored the internal and external factors that have affected unions over the past 50 years. This study included 3 research questions: (a) What are the qualities of an effective teacher labor union leader? (b) What are the internal and external factors that have affected teachers' unions for the past 50 years? Using the survey results and the literature, what model emerges that describes an effective teacher labor union leader? In spite of the adverse external factors that have affected teacher union members: the quality of labor union leadership has been a factor in the sustainability and strength of union membership.

The study found an effective teacher labor union leader must possess the following qualities: ability to collaborate, have a shared vision with the members of the organization, be influential, and possess an adaptive capacity, possess the intelligence to adapt to the internal and external factors that may impact their organization. An effective teacher union leader, must build and strengthen organizational capacity to alleviate member apathy and to increase member engagement.

Teacher union members must be able to identify the qualities of an effective teacher labor union leader and teacher union leaders must be able to know when they are effective. This study has suggested a systems model approach from the local school district to the State, CTA, as an

assessment tool, where there is personal mastery, mental models, shared vision, team learning and systems thinking, where individuals are working together at their best in order to build capacity to continue to learn in order to create the results the members and the organization envision for the future.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

Since the age of globalization and Right to Work laws, the power of the union in America has greatly declined. Manufacturers have moved operations to new jurisdictions, such as the American south or low-wage countries, to take advantage of lower wages and taxes (Silvia, 2006). Right to Work laws benefit corporations and they have the effect of dismantling unions. Right to work laws allow workers who are not members of a union to work at a unionized worksite and receive the same benefits gained by the collective bargaining process.

Unlike workers from many industries in the US, teachers have not been affected by globalization and Right to Work laws. From the early 1960s to the 1980s, teachers' unions had particularly large organizing and lobbying potential, were more aligned with Democratic officials, and brought considerable political clout to the bargaining table. Teachers did not have to contend with the threat and prevalence of charter schools, school vouchers, or the closing of the achievement gap between students of color and white students. These concerns became realized later, after the *A Nation at Risk* report in 1983. This report was commissioned by President Ronald Reagan who pinpointed and discovered areas of academic underachievement and made recommendations to target for improvement, after discovering SAT scores had dropped 50 points in English and 40 points in mathematics. The commission made five areas for improvement. These five categories are the following: (a) content, (b) standards and expectations, (c) time, (d) teaching, and (a) leadership and fiscal support ("A Nation at Risk," 1983).

Prah (2011) indicates between 2000 and 2003, 3 million U.S. factory jobs, and manufacturing plants closed in the U.S. Entire industries diminished, and loss of union membership followed. The United Auto Workers, United Steel Workers, United Mine Workers of America, Communication Workers of America, and The Brotherhood of Teamsters are examples of unions whose relevant

industries were either outsourced or moved overseas (Prah, 2011). The example of the Nissan workers of Canton Mississippi struggle with employment issues, rising healthcare costs, and low salaries in the Right to Work state of Mississippi shows how employees may be disadvantaged to the benefit of the employer (Atkins, 2012). The employment issues of the Nissan workers contention is that the plant relies too heavily, 40 % on contract or temporary employees who do not receive the same pay and benefits as full-time workers, nor do the workers receive timely medical treatment for workplace injuries. Moreover, employees find it difficult to move from one division to another, such as paint or trim, is often decided by who is buddy with management (Atkins, 2012). As a result, union leaders such as Stern, the past president of the SEIU, turned toward organizing a more stable workforce than the manufacturing industry. Public service sector jobs, in industries such as healthcare and public education, offer more employment stability and higher wages for potential union members.

Even though teachers' unions adhere to the same laws and legal apparatus as manufacturing unions, public sector schools face a much different kind of competition than do for-profit businesses. Corporations are beholden to competition and implement policies for the sake of increased production and profit and the fear of losing business and employment to nonunion firms (Stern, 2006). In order for these kinds of businesses to stay competitive, corporations find it necessary to have a non-union workforce in order to stay competitive.

According to Terry Moe (2011), teachers' union leaders must protect the union members' concerns for job security, wages, benefits, and rights and prerogatives within the workplace. Moe (2011) argues that union leaders' incentives are front-loaded and short-term.

Their members want them to "bring home the bacon" right away and that's what leaders do. Further, he says, the brute fact, teachers are supportive of their local unions precisely because of their "bread and butter" (Moe, 2011, p. 244) interests as employees are being forcefully represented.

Teachers at low performing, overcrowded, underfunded schools become the benefactors of underperforming students. Teachers at these schools are held at fault for the lack of academic performance of the students, regardless of the issues of class overcrowding, underfunding, inadequate resources, and the effects of community and economic and social ills. Many schools are located in low-income communities whose students suffer from the ills of economic disparity, such as unemployment rates at depression levels and dismal social services for students and families. Those who oppose teachers' unions, recognize that, even with new and second year teachers, a high level of commitment will not solve all the social and economic disparities faced by the families of students due to the community experience.

Opponents of teachers' unions argue that teachers and their union leaders are the problem that teacher union interests are at time, not what is good for kids. However, the history of teacher union leadership shows that leaders tend to be collaborators; they organize strikes and confer with school boards, lawyers, and supervisors. Union leaders compromise between what is good for teachers and what is good for kids. During the early 1960s, for example, field representative for AFT Al Shanker conferred with two other union leaders—Charles Cogan, then president of the AFT, and David Seldon of the AFL-CIO, not a teacher union—for advice concerning how to organize the teachers to strike when striking was illegal under the Condon-Wadlin Act (Warner, 2017).

In the 1960s, the challenges for teachers and teacher union leaders revolved around whether or not to organize a strike, in order to gain collective bargaining benefits. At that time, during the 1960s, The Civil Rights movement was underway and President John F. Kennedy was the Democratic hopeful for labor unions and others, such as Native American Indians and women were vying for civil and equal rights. New York State passed the Condon-Wadlin Act (Warner, 2017), which legally prohibited public sector worker strikes. The act was the greatest external challenge to teacher unionization. Under the



Condon-Wadlin Act, a striking public sector employee was to be immediately fired. If reinstated to his or her position, a striker was barred from any pay increase for three years, and was placed on probation without tenure for five years (Warner, 2017). As a result, Shanker “agonized over a decision—contending with tremendous fears that he was leading people into a terrible trap” (Goldberg, 1993, p. 47).

Later on, during the 1980s, external challenges for teachers included the school reform era, the school voucher system, and the standards movement. Others, such as Andy Stern, President of the Service Employee International Union (SEIU) recounted the external factors that affected his membership. He had an acute awareness of the external factors that affected the American worker. He knew that in the new global economy, mobility of capital, technological mobility, trade and investment agreements, quick logistical capability, and multinational companies “make the rules” (Stern, 2006, p. 33). Stern (2006) envisioned a future wherein “forty-eight of the largest one hundred economies in the world are corporations” (p. 33). In his envisioned future, Wal-Mart would become the world’s largest corporation, and employ more workers than GM, Ford, GE, and IBM combined. In fact, Wal-Mart is currently the world’s largest economy, “with sales bigger than the Gross Domestic Product of 198 countries, including Ireland, Singapore, and Venezuela” (Stern, 2006, p. 33).

Because of his knowledge of the situation of the American worker in a competitive business economy, Stern held the hearts and minds of many in his membership and epitomizes the pragmatic essence of a union leader. Ozmon and Craver (1995) encapsulates individuals, such as Stern, who take on leadership roles to catalyze “the ideas of others, to encourage and facilitate participation, but to have their own clearly thought-out vision of the future” (p. 285), so as to take individuals from one point to another. Ozmon and Craver (1995) define leadership as “mobilizing resources, including human and intellectual resources, so as to arouse, engage and satisfy the motives of others” (p. 285). Stern’s

leadership was collaborative and pragmatic when he conceded to a Labor-Management-Partnership scheme with Kaiser Permanente. He showed his understanding of competitive business economics when he said: “I realized that our priority should not be to make unionized employers noncompetitive by raising wages and benefits in the market. Instead, our priority should be to contribute to our employers’ success by organizing all their competitors” (Stern, 2006, p. 59).

Illustrative of Stern’s values is his ability to envision the future of the American worker from what he saw happening in certain segments of the economy. He was pragmatic in his implementation of the Labor-Management-Partnership scheme, which allowed him to acquire new members for SEIU without the interference of employers in the healthcare industry (Early, 2011). For example, he was reticent to support the Communication Worker of America (CWA) when Kaiser moved to decertify them as a labor union, most likely due to their low numbers. The strategy helped him to maintain a collaborative relationship between SEIU and Kaiser.

This study focuses on the qualities, motivations, and values that make an effective teacher union labor leader and the internal and external challenges that impact the success of teacher labor union leaders and their members. The qualities that make an effective union leader are not specific to teacher union leaders only; therefore, the literature review has and will refer to other union leaders, as well.

### **Restatement of the Problem**

Many labor unions have experienced severe membership reduction within the past 50 years, as the result of job losses. This has whittled away the number of dues-paying members, which impedes the union’s ability to pay for lobbyists and support political action committees (PACs) and political campaigns. The struggles that labor unions have endured result from external forces, such as national and international laws that support international trade (Prah, 2011). The challenge for many labor unions is to stay viable, and part of staying viable is having an effective labor union leader who can navigate

the external forces that might impede the union's effectiveness. An effective labor union leader may possess certain leadership qualities specific to union leaders.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The research will examine the 10 most necessary qualities for an effective teacher union leader. These qualities are defined as “dimensions or individual differences in tendencies to show consistent patterns of thoughts, feelings, and actions” (McCrae & Costa, 2003, p. 23). These traits or attributes can contribute to a leader's motivations, values, and behaviors. The context that a leader encounters can determine the success of his organization. This study will examine the history of teacher labor union leadership and explore the internal and external factors that have affected unions over the past 50 years. This study will include leadership theories and a survey of current teacher union leaders from several school districts, within California within a six-week time span, to determine whether there has been an evolution in the qualities of union leadership in the last several decades.

This study will determine what union leadership qualities are evident in an effective labor union leader. This study will determine if the success and suitability of a labor union leader's qualities are influenced by the internal and external factors of his or her political and economic environment. Furthermore, the study contends that the qualities of an effective leader impact a union's success or lack thereof. In order to achieve these ends, the study will assess leadership theories pertaining to teacher union leaders, survey 15 to 20 teacher labor union leaders, and perform historical research to uncover the qualities that make effective teacher union leaders.

### **Significance**

A labor leader's qualities are situational and dependent on the internal and external forces that the leader encounters. Leadership qualities are not static; a leader's motivations, values, and behaviors exist within an economic and historical context. For example, during the 1960s, union leaders had to

contend with the external factors that prevented teachers from forming a collective bargaining agreement. The issues for teachers at that time were whether or not to strike in a context within which a strike was not permitted or whether there should be a different salary for elementary teachers than for secondary teachers. As this was a significant phenomenon teachers and labor union leaders had to experience during that period of time; this study portends to reveal that the qualities of labor union leaders, in terms of the behaviors they exhibited at that time were most likely typical and common among other labor union leaders.

Another significance this study seeks to challenge the underlying theories that form the foundation of this study, because the circumstances and conditions that labor union leaders' experience in terms of internal or external circumstances may change over time.

Leadership theories are hypotheses to explain how leaders operate. The underlying premise of this study is that the qualities, motivations, behaviors, and values of labor union leaders can impact their unions' success or lack thereof. This study finds that, as society changed, the qualities of the labor union leadership also changed. The study will survey 15 to 20 union leaders in order to identify their 10 most leadership traits.

### **Restatement Research Questions**

Labor leaders are constantly faced with internal and external obstacles that may impact their membership. Therefore, their behaviors and qualities may change depending the context. This study will examine the following research questions.

1. What are the qualities of an effective union leader?
2. What are the internal and external factors that have affected teachers' unions for the past 50 years?

3. Using the survey results and the literature, what model emerges that describes an effective leader?

## Definitions

*National Labor Relations Act, 1935:* Congress enacted the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) in 1935 to protect the rights of employees and employers, to encourage collective bargaining, and to curtail certain private sector labor and management practices that can harm the general welfare of workers, businesses, and the U.S. economy (National Labor Relations Board, n.d.).

*The American Federation of Teachers:* An affiliate of the AFL-CIO, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) was founded in 1916 and today represents 1.6 million members in more than 3,000 local affiliates nationwide.

Five divisions within the AFT represent the broad spectrum of the AFT's membership: pre-K through 12th-grade teachers; paraprofessionals and other school-related personnel; higher education faculty and professional staff; federal, state, and local government employees; and nurses and other healthcare professionals. In addition, the AFT represents approximately 80,000 early childhood educators and nearly 250,000 retiree members.

*AFL-CIO:* The AFL-CIO represents the merger of two labor unions: the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO). The AFL began in 1881 as the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the U.S. and Canada, and included a collection of workers from different skilled trades. In 1886, the group was renamed the American Federation of Labor. The CIO started in 1935 from dissatisfaction with the AFL. Later, in 1955, the two groups came back together (American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), n.d.).

*Collective Bargaining:* Collective bargaining is the process by which people, through their unions, negotiate contracts with employers to determine employment terms. Terms include pay, benefits, hours, jobs held, and safety policies (Atkins, 2012; Zullo, 2008).

*Leadership:* Owens and Valesky (2007) define a leader as one who relates to followers in the following ways: (a) motivates them to unite with others in sharing a vision concerning where the organization should be going and how to get there, (b) arouses their personal commitment to the effort to bring the vision of a better future into being, (c) organizes the working environment so that the envisioned goals become central values in the organization, (d) facilitates the work that followers need to do to transform the vision into reality.

*Right to Work:* In a unionized setting, an individual can reap the benefits of collective representation without having to contribute to the cost of obtaining those benefits under Right to Work laws, which allow individuals to opt out of paying union dues (Zullo, 2008).

*Union:* A union is an organization of workers formed for the purpose of advancing its members' interests in terms of wages, benefits, and working conditions (Allen & Hawkins, 1991).

*SEIU:* The SEIU is an organization that comprises 1.1 million union members in the healthcare sector. Its membership includes nurses, doctors, lab technicians, and nursing home workers, as well as janitors, security officers, maintenance workers, public school employees, bus drivers, and child care providers (Early, 2011; SEIU, n.d.)

### **Assumptions of the Study**

This study makes three assumptions:

- The personal qualities of labor union leaders impact the success or lack of success of their rank and file membership.

- A teacher union's success is inherently a function of the political and economic environment of the society and historical context in which it exists.
- Examining prior teacher labor union leaders' internal and external challenges may assist future teacher labor union leaders.

### **Limitations of the Study**

This is a single-case study that assesses the experiences of 15 to 20 teacher labor leaders. These individuals are expected to have addressed internal and external factors that adversely impacted their organizations. One limitation is the study's expectation that research participants will respond by email and be able to access and utilize Survey Monkey effectively. This study is limited to the character traits of teacher labor leaders.

### **Summary**

Leaders exist within environments that are situational, historical and a constantly changing economy and dependent on the internal and external forces that leader encounter. An effective union leader will possess certain leadership qualities that will adversely or positively affect his/her membership. There are leadership theories, though hypothetical, attest to these certain qualities leaders possess that affect his or her membership. Finally, this study will explore whether the leadership qualities are static irrespective of the internal or external forces or challenges a labor leader encounters.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

This literature review is organized into three sections: a brief description of leadership, a history of teachers' unions, a discussion of the internal factors that have affected teachers' unions within the past 50 years, and an explanation of the external factors that have affected teachers' unions within the past 50 years. While teachers' unions have experienced external factors, such as school accountability measures in terms of content standards, merit pay, and school vouchers; other unions experienced different external factors, such as globalism and the outsourcing of jobs. External factors have caused unions to restructure the internal processes of their unions, and some labor union leaders have even changed their motivations in terms of behaviors and values in order to improve and sustain the viability of their organization.

The literature review concludes with a discussion of the various leadership theories, under the assumption that leadership theories evolve along with leadership qualities.

### **What Is Leadership?**

Margaret Wheatley (1997) defines leadership as follows: "Leaders are necessary to foster experimentation to help create across the organization, to feed the system with rich information from multiple sources" (p. 25). Wheatley's definition of leadership is applicable to school union leadership. Union leaders are constantly collecting information from their membership and the parent organization of the local union. A union leader is a political position. A teachers' union leader must strike a balance between protecting the employment rights and benefits of members and constantly negotiating with management on issues that will benefit members and students. Leaders of teachers' unions create a shared narrative of meaning and negotiate the interests of the education reformers, which currently include issues dealing with school accountability, merit pay, dismissal of unions, and the interests of the rank-and-file membership. A leader's ability to create unity across the diverse membership of an



organization is essential to maintain membership support, regardless of the kind of organization that an individual must lead.

Randi Weingarten's leadership is an excellent example of how and why a leader must strike such a balance between the external factors that call for school reformism (school accountability, content standards, merit pay and vouchers) and her membership. She has to constantly consider the education reformers and the rank-and-file membership, but if she steers too close to the reformers, Weingarten risks losing the support of her membership, not to mention her job. If she focuses too much on gaining benefits and privileges for teachers, she risks being seen as too strident or extreme, and might lose her status in the national policy arena (Kearney, 2011).

Randi Weingarten promotes a shared meaning of the values, words, and deeds of past AFT presidents who have shaped the education policy narrative for AFT membership. She created shared meaning by telling personal anecdotes to connect with teachers. She recounted that her mother was a teacher who was constantly grading papers and preparing lessons at home.

Albert Shanker (, past AFT union president, also created such a connection with the rank-and-file members of his organization. He recounted his background, particularly focusing on his mother, who was a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. She said to him, "Even in the sweatshop, we have time for lunch. You teachers are supposed to be so smart, but you're dumb not to have a union" (Goldberg, 1993, p. 46). Shanker decided then to work toward gaining teachers collective bargaining rights. Leaders also embody confidence, determination, and intelligence to think strategically and analytically in order to realize or achieve success for their organizations.

### **The History of Teachers' Unions**

For the past 50 years, teachers' unions have been affected by the same external factors as other labor unions, namely a loss of membership. Moe (2011) briefly provides a historical perspective of the

obstacles that hindered collective bargaining for teachers' unions. The prevailing belief against unions before the 1930s was based on sovereign authority. Sovereign authority was the rationale used to deny collective bargaining rights to public workers at all government levels. Public officials argued, "collective bargaining amounted to an improper delegation of the government's sovereign authority. Officials argued their duty was to "faithfully represent the people as the true sovereigns and they could not do that if they were bound by collective bargaining agreements" (Moe, 2011, p. 33). Furthermore, Moe (2011) indicated that the private sector was hostile to public workers collectively organizing, too.

The battle...to organize workers and establish collective bargaining was fierce, often bloody and slow going. Labors' plight was actually worse in the public sector, where the employers-governments not only resisted unionization, yet had the authority to make the law. (p. 32)

The party machines and patronage dominated the American government. The patronage ideology dictated that government jobs were controlled by party bosses and by political officials who used them as political currency, to maintain their political machines. Moreover, jobs were unsecure for public employees. This also meant that employees were dependent on the party in power and the employees were expected to be party loyalists, funders, and campaign workers (Moe, 2011).

The patronage system would flourish under a Democratic majority, as both represented the workingman, but at that time the Democrats depended on the politicized government personnel system, which conflicted with the demands of the unions (Moe, 2011). However, the chasm between the union movement and the Democrats was even greater because workers, especially the AFL-CIO, relied on their unions for services and support rather than the government.

As employers and the government resisted unionization, patronage was a barrier defeating the process of unionization. For teachers, patronage emerged in the late 1800s until the early 1960s, and was the obstacle that prevented teachers from uniting. Eventually, the patronage system declined due to the anti-patronage and the Progressive movement. The civil service reform movement replaced it. The civil

service reform movement was a system based on the merit system, tenure, job classifications, pay schedules, and other bureaucratic means of job protection. Even though the Progressive movement reformers supported civil service, progress was slow during the 1930s and 1940s, and the civil service reform movement prevailed, individuals were hired on merit as opposed to party affiliation, at last during the 1950s. By then, the Democrats needed to find other beneficial alliances and looked toward the growing union movement for new constituents. The Democrats could offer civil service reforms and collective bargaining rights for the private sector only, and social services for working-class individuals.

During the 1940s, another obstacle to collective bargaining was the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act (1947); this law allowed the states to pass “Right to Work” laws eliminating forced union membership. The Taft-Hartley Act (1947) in effect undermined the National Labor Relations Act (1935) and hindered the momentum of the labor movement. The NLRA was a legal entity designed to support workers in any bargaining unit to be represented by a common union.

By the late 1950s, the civil service movement was fully entrenched, and patronage was no longer. By that time, private sector unions were strong and wealthy. The alliance with the Democratic Party and the public-sector unions provided them raw political power. Union activism and Democratic political office holders laid the foundation for teachers’ unions to come into fruition. Therefore, Al Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers, led the teachers to strike. The strike was well known and demonstrated to the rest of the nation’s teachers what could happen if they were strongly organized and willing to take risks and be militant (Kahlenberg, 2007). President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10988, which promised to extend collective bargaining rights to federal government workers (Kahlenberg, 2007).

Kennedy’s executive order was a signal not only to public officials, but to other unions and public employees, that collective bargaining was legitimate and obtainable. Although strike activity

prior to 1960 was virtually nonexistent, collective bargaining laws and strikes became commonplace. New York City teachers were the first to bargain collectively as a union and to win a comprehensive employment contract for its teachers. Later, AFT membership grew exponentially. Between 1960 and 1968, AFT membership tripled from 60,000 to 175,000: it became the bargaining union in Chicago, Boston, Kansas City, Cleveland, Washington D.C, Newark, Toledo, Detroit, and Philadelphia (Kahlenberg, 2007). Its membership was going to surpass the NEAs. Don Cameron, a former executive of the NEA, said, “Thousands of teachers and leaders would have defected to the AFT, if it had become a choice between collective bargaining and no collective bargaining” (Kahlenberg, 2007, p. 53).

The NEA decided against opposing collective bargaining for teachers. Even though the AFT was smaller than the NEA, according to Michael Usdan, “The AFT tail wagged the dog” (Kahlenberg, 2007, p. 54). The AFT continued to organize to replace NEA locals in Right to Work states by organizing professionals outside of teaching (Kahlenberg, 2007). During the early 1970s, the AFT and the NEA were vying for each other’s members. The AFT argued, “we’re for collective bargaining and they, (referring to the NEA) aren’t” (Kahlenberg, 2007, p. 54).

In the 1970s, the AFT spent 70% of its budget to compete with the NEA. In states such as Texas, where collective bargaining was outlawed, the AFT pushed for a “meet and confer” (Kahlenberg, 2007, p. 169) strategy in order to elect a sympathetic school board. In states where collective bargaining was outlawed, teachers were lured by the AFT, which gave them “associate membership” (Kahlenberg, 2007, p. 169) benefits such as discounts to Disney world, insurance against law suits, and information about anti-union legislation. In 1973, the AFT decided to seek other professionals than teachers, and began recruiting in the health care industry, among municipal and state employers, and other professionals that the NEA had not organized. The rationale? The more members, the more political influence. “In 1977, Shanker persuaded AFT to vote to expand the membership to others beyond

educators to other workers including nurses, librarians, park employees and lawyers” (Kahlenberg, 2007, p. 170). By 1980, 30 of the highly populated industrialized states had labor laws authorizing collective bargaining for teachers.

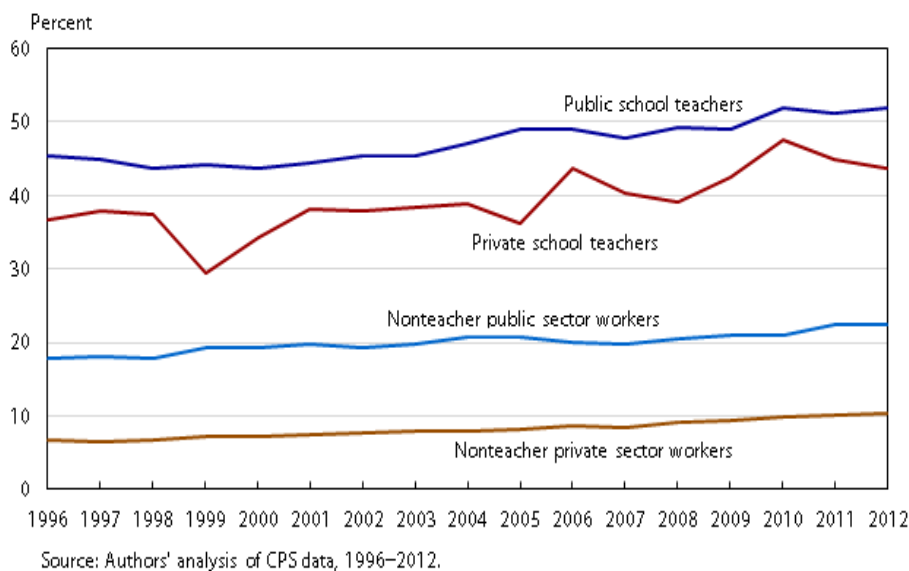
### **External Influences on Teachers’ Unions**

**Collective bargaining.** Between 1960 and 1977, Moe (2011) found that collective bargaining tended to be regarded earlier in states that already had well-established labor movements, and where the Democrats were established in the legislature at the state and governor levels. The author also distinguished those states that had weak to nonexistent collective-bargaining laws. California adopted collective bargaining in 1975; the percentages of teachers covered by collective bargaining jumped from 8% in 1975 to 51% in 1976 and 85% in 1977. Two years later, it was 88%, and held steady at 98% by 1975 through 1977 (Moe, 2011).

Data from 2004 to 2008 show that the percentages of teachers unionized in Arizona, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia ranged from 35% to 65%. There are states that have collective bargaining laws, and also have a unionized workforce among teachers. The states with lower percentages prohibited collective bargaining, while the states with higher percentages permitted collective bargaining. The Southern states of Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, West Virginia, and some northern states such as Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming do not have collective bargaining laws. Yet, 36% to 84% of unionized teachers in states, such as Alabama and Utah are unionized, respectively. States that have unions but no collective bargaining agreement include Arizona, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. Unlike Allegretto (2014), Moe (2011) does not differentiate the teachers with Master’s degree by geographic region or by the wages of those teachers who are unionized as opposed to those teachers not unionized or provide wage differentiation from public school teachers and private school teachers.

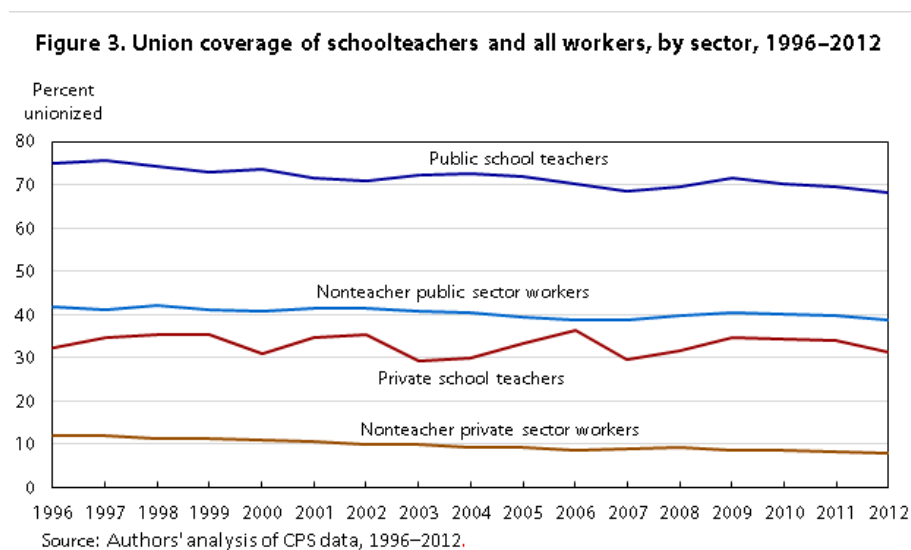
Recent data from 1996–2012 with respect to education bear similarities to previous statistics from the U.S. Bureau of Labor and Statistics (Allegretto, 2014). These statistics differentiate unionized teachers with a Master’s degree or higher in public, private, non-teacher public, and non-teacher private sector workers; the latter are support staff, and include clerical, administrative, teachers’ aide, and janitorial staff. The BLS (Allegretto, 2014) indicates that teachers have different attainments from the rest of the staff. Most teachers are required to have at least a Bachelor’s degree. In 2012, a majority (52%) of public school teachers had at least a Master’s degree (Allegretto, 2014). Whereas, the percentages of private schoolteachers with a Master’s degree was lower 44%, (Allegretto, 2014). Support staff and nonteaching staff in public schools had 22% with a Master’s, while only 1 in 10 had a Master’s in the private schools (Allegretto, 2014). The below graph differentiates public sector from private school teachers with or without Master’s degrees.

**Figure 2. Public and private sector teachers and nonteacher workers with a master's degree or higher, 1996–2012**



*Figure 1. Public and private sector teachers. Illustrates the percentages of public school teachers with master’s degrees. Illustrates the public and private sector teachers and nonteacher workers with a Master’s degrees. Adapted from “Teacher staffing and pay differences: public and private schools,” by S. Allegretto, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Monthly Labor Review, September 2014. Bureau of labor and statistics: monthly labor review, p. 11. Copyright 2014 by the Bureau of Labor and Statistics.*

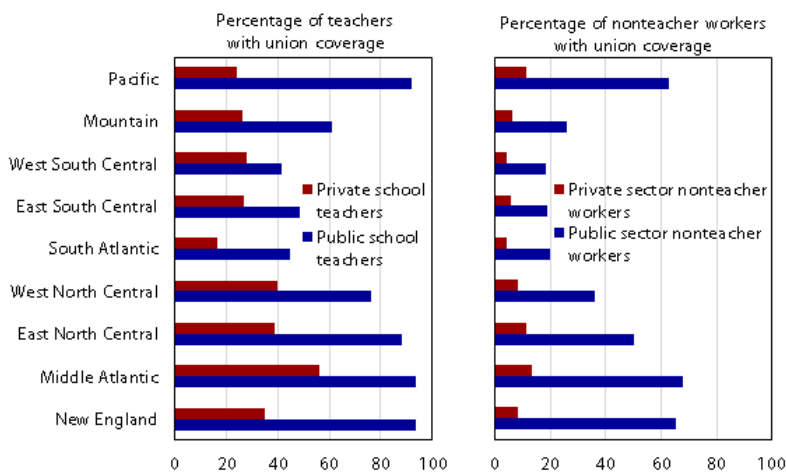
**Unionization.** The unionization of teachers fell from 12% to 8% between 1996 and 2012, although public school teachers are more unionized, 68% and private school teachers are less so 31%.



*Figure 2.* Union coverage of schoolteachers. Illustrates union coverage of public school teachers, private school workers and non-teacher public sector workers. Adapted from “*Teacher staffing and pay differences: public and private schools,*” by S. Allegretto, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Monthly Labor Review, September 2014. Bureau of labor and statistics: monthly labor review, p. 11. Copyright 2014 by the Bureau of Labor and Statistics.

**Location.** The graph below represents recent statistics on the number of schoolteachers unionized from 1996 to 2012. It illustrates the percentages of teachers with union coverage across the U.S. and the percentages of non-teacher workers with union coverage.

**Figure 4. Union coverage rate, by Census division, teachers and nonteacher workers, 2010–2012**



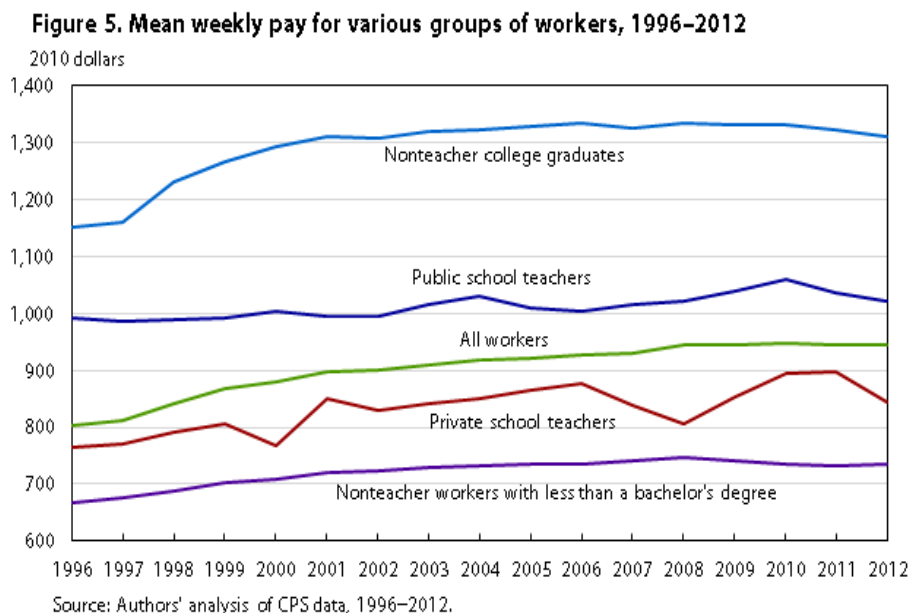
Note: 2010, 2011, and 2012 data from CPS were pooled in order to obtain suitable sample sizes, particularly for male private school teachers.

Source: Authors' analysis of CPS data, 2010–2012.

*Figure 3.* The geographic union coverage of public and private school teachers. Illustrates percent of public versus private school teachers with union coverage by geographic region. Adapted from “*Teacher staffing and pay differences: public and private schools*,” by S. Allegretto, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Monthly Labor Review, September 2014. Bureau of labor and statistics: monthly labor review, p. 8. Copyright 2014 by the Bureau of Labor and Statistics.

**Weekly wages.** From 1996 to 2012, in the above figure 4, one finds that wage growth was higher for all workers who were non-teacher college graduates with at least a Bachelor’s degree. Public school teacher wages increased by 2.9%; while private school teachers’ wages increased, by 10.4%. For the average college graduate, wages increased by 12.4%. The difference in wage increase, according the BLS, suggest that wages in the private sector schools and in general are more responsive to economic cycles (Allegretto, 2014). It is also interesting to note that private sector schoolteachers are less unionized. This suggests that public unionized schoolteachers’ contracts insulate pay fluctuations. In 2012, the average weekly wages of public school teachers was \$1,021.60, while the average weekly wages of private school teachers was \$845; the additional \$176.60 indicates a 21% increase (Allegretto, 2014, p. 11). The following chart indicates the weekly wages of public school teachers of \$2,010.





*Figure 4.* The weekly pay for various groups of workers, private to public, including teachers. Mean weekly pay for various groups of workers, private to public. The above figure designates weekly wages among various groups of workers, including teachers. Adapted from “*Teacher staffing and pay differences: public and private schools,*” by S. Allegretto, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Monthly Labor Review, September 2014. Bureau of labor and statistics: monthly labor review, p. 11. Copyright 2014 by the Bureau of Labor and Statistics.

***A Nation at Risk.*** By the 1980s, teachers had been organizing as a collective for 20 years. However, on April 26, 1983, the report *A Nation at Risk* (1983) by the Commission on Excellence in Education started the school reform era. The report pointed to a lack of serious curricula in American public high schools. It recommended that high schools should require four years of English, three years of math, science, and social studies, and one and a half years of computer science. It asserted that schools should end social promotion, which allows students to move to the next grade based on their age rather than their academic performance. Other recommendations included that school days should be seven hours, and the school year extended from 180 to 220 days in length (Kahlenberg, 2007).

Before the *Nation at Risk* (1983) Shanker (Kahlenberg, 2007) was adamant and persistently argued that American schools were performing much better than the critics would have the public believe. He even called the so-called failure of public school “the big lie” (Kahlenberg, 2007, p. 274).

When the Nation at Risk (1983) report came out, Shanker changed his position for strategic purposes and assessed the then-external threat to public schools. The main threat was tuition tax credits, which would allow parents a sum of \$500 per child to enroll their children in private or parochial schools (Kahlenberg, 2007). Such legislation would take needed monies from the public education system. Furthermore, Shanker feared that there would be a mass exodus of students to parochial schools, and that more pressure would be placed on public officials to increase the amount over time (Kahlenberg, 2007). Another ramification was the possibility that the tuition tax credit for parents would weaken the union.

Shanker's (Kahlenberg, 2007) response was to organize the parents of the Parent-Teacher Association and argue against the \$500 per pupil monies that would go to parochial schools the amount far exceeded the federal spending of \$128 per pupil monies allotted to public schools (Kahlenberg, 2007). As president of AFT, Shanker declared that the organization would not help or contribute to any candidate who voted the wrong way on tax credits. Eventually, the Senate voted 56 to 41 in favor of an amendment to strip the tuition tax credit bill of the K–12 credit, while retaining a credit for higher-education spending (Kahlenberg, 2007).

After the tax credit issue, Shanker's leadership qualities of intelligence, collaboration, and pragmatism were revealed via a speech printed in the *NY Times*. Initially, Shanker urged teachers not to dismiss reforms, as long as the reforms were tied to higher salaries and an infusion of new funds into K–12 education. Acknowledging the problems would not make school vouchers inevitable, but would be a step toward improving public education. He recommended that they get out from under the issue of school reform by shaping the narrative and discourse as to the areas in which school reform would take place. His speech covered five areas that indicated his intelligence and pragmatism (Kahlenberg (2007) wrote:

1. Higher salaries for teachers and an increase in monies for public schools.
2. Merit pay. According to Shanker (Kahlenberg, 2007) this should not be dismissed, but would have to be tied to an increase in teacher salaries and monies to public schools. Shanker himself indicated that the report does not mention tuition tax credits, vouchers, or school prayer.
3. He suggested that educators cease their animosity toward the business community, even though businesses had historically resisted spending money on public education. Shanker's position was pragmatic; and argued that, if the business community wanted an educated workforce, the business community should pay for it. The strategy was to ally the business community with the education community in order to lure the business community away from the school reformers.
4. By urging teachers to embrace the report and (Shanker's version of) public education school reform, they would place public education on the front burner.
5. Shanker (Kahlenberg, 2007) urged liberals to embrace the report's focus on the excellence of all children. He stated, "We face as great an educational crisis with our top and average students as we do our bottom ones." (p. 275)

Shanker's shaping the narrative concerning the areas in which school reform would take place and the discourse of a nation at risk determined the basis of school reform. Shanker's (Kahlenberg, 2007). approach was broad and focused on the need for the excellence of all students, regardless of their healthcare, housing, jobs, ethnic background, or family income.

**The Educational Standards Movement.** By the 1980s, teachers were subjected to the educational standards movement. The movement outlined content standards of what students should know, and included testing that determined how well they, the students mastered these standards. The

content standards method provided teachers with information on whether they should be teaching at the current standard or should move on to the next standard, based on student test performance (Kahlenberg, 2007). However, since the 1980s, standards-based teaching emerged into common core standards that were nationwide, while previously the states had set individual curriculum standards. Proponents of a standards-based movement argued that a standards-based system would consist of curriculum framework outlining what students should be able to do. The curriculum, materials, and state assessments would flow from the standards.

Opponents of a standards-based system argued that establishing content standards means returning to memorizing facts, rather than learning problem-solving skills and critical thinking. Content standards would be biased toward Europeans in the subject of history. Another criticism was that a system of testing would hurt the self-esteem of struggling students and hinder their ability to learn. Teachers would be compelled to teach to the test, rather than exercising academic freedom in how core subject matter material was presented to students. Furthermore, parents of middle class students feared that state performance standards would be set low in order to focus on struggling students while ignoring gifted children. Finally, the National Education Association opposed performance testing, arguing that research suggests home and family environment were more responsible for student achievement than teachers (Kahlenberg, 2007).

**Goals 2000 and the opportunity to learn.** The Goals 2000 (1993) supplied a framework with which states could establish standards and provide congruent assessments in a coherent fashion. In January of 1993, President Clinton revised a standards-based reform package from Bush's America 2000 plan and sent it to Capitol Hill. The bill proposed the establishment of a National Education Standards and Improvement Council (NESIC) to certify content standards and state assessments and provide 420 million in funding for states to establish systems of standards (Kahlenberg, 2007).

Opponents wanted the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Act (ESEA) would mandate that federal monies to be withheld if states did not require schools to make adequate yearly progress (AYP) on student achievement (Kahlenberg, 2007). The ESEA also dictated that all low-income students had the right to transfer from a low-performing school to a better public school and that teachers from that school who failed to improve the performance of their students could be removed from that school (Kahlenberg, 2007). The purpose of the content standards movement was to close the achievement gap between students of color and white students; therefore, all students were expected to meet high performance standards (Kahlenberg, 2007). Shanker (Kahlenberg, 2007) argued that more resources would be needed in low-income schools until accountability measures were put into place.

Opponents further argued that further resources were imperative; otherwise, high-stakes tests would punish poor children attending lousy schools. On the other hand, opportunity to learn standards would determine what kids were taught and tested on. The AFT leadership, Shanker and Feldman, said that a standards-based reform movement was an equity issue; kids and students of color would be expected to meet high performance standards in order to close the achievement gap. Finally, the standards movement aligned with Goals 2000 to incorporate incentives and stakes for students; the standards needed to be national in scope and provide assessments of high quality.

**Improving America's schools act.** President Clinton felt that the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) was a diversion from its intended direction; therefore, he proposed a different version of the bill, calling it the Improving America's Schools Act (IASA). This act called for ESEA money be withheld from states that did not require schools to make adequate yearly progress based on student achievement tests. This act placed sanctions on schools that failed to have all low-income students make adequate yearly progress toward achievement. Sanctions included allowing students to transfer out of a failing school to a better public school and the possibility of reconstituting the failing

school. Critics of the IASA argued that it was absurd to expect all children everywhere to achieve at an advanced level. Another criticism was that the proposed bill put all the responsibility on the teachers and schools and none on the students. The AFT (2017) responded by asking what was considered reasonable adequate yearly progress?

**Testing and accountability.** Another external obstacle, which is part of the reforming schools movement, is the concept that testing and accountability would reveal public school failure and thereby justify the issuance of school vouchers so students could choose not to attend a failing school.

President Ronald Reagan, along with the report, expressed his commitment to school vouchers and prayer in school. Shanker (Kahlenberg, 2007), of the AFT, responded defending teachers in his weekly column, “Where We Stand,” in *The New York Times*, arguing that no human being was going to stand for long hours doing a tough job under difficult circumstances, only to be vilified in editorials that shape public opinion (Kahlenberg, 2007). Apart from testing and accountability, others argued that students should acquire a body of knowledge and should be culturally literate—or have amassed a certain body of facts—in order to be successful in mainstream society. Shanker believed that it is not enough to be able to read well, but that it is important for students to have the requisite background knowledge particular to each test (Kahlenberg, 2007).

### **Internal Factors**

**Collective bargaining.** Initially, existed the realization teachers’ collective bargaining capability was the prevailing notion that teachers existed outside the barriers of collective bargaining, because public employee strikes were illegal prior to the 1960s. The NLRA (1935) limited collective bargaining to private sector unions. Franklin Delano Roosevelt opposed strikes by public employees. Furthermore, many teachers thought unions were for blue-collar workers and those of lesser educational attainment (Murphy, 1990). The infighting within the teaching profession prevented solidarity, which is a necessity

for successful collective bargaining. High school teachers, who then were predominantly male, felt they should be paid more than elementary school teachers, who were predominantly female. New York City teachers were divided along the lines of ethnicity, religion, and race (Kahlenberg, 2007). For New York City teachers, the breakthrough came when the city's subway lines went bankrupt. At that point, the city government was involved in a collective bargaining dispute with New York City's transit authority. The mayor soon recognized public sector labor unions in New York City on March 31, 1958. Mayor Wagner signed executive order 49, which gave 100,000 city employees the right to join the union. Previously, the 1947 Condon-Wadlin Act prohibited strikes by public employees; those who engaged in an illegal strike could be fired (Goldberg, 1993).

Mayor Wagner's actions surpassed President Kennedy's Executive Order 1098, served as a model that established the right of federal employees to join unions and bargain collectively. President Kennedy's Executive Order 1098 served as a model for Mayor Wager who eventually extended collective bargaining rights to the New York City teachers (Kahlenberg, 2007). Eventually, the disunity between the elementary and the high school teachers subsided when the teacher's guild merged with the AFT. The negotiators, Selden and Shanker, created a compromise between the high school teachers and the elementary teachers. Each teacher would receive at least the same base pay, regardless of level taught, but teachers with Master's degrees would get more (Goldberg, 1993).

By 1961, the issue of collective bargaining had to be reconciled for the teachers. Mayor Wagner formed a three-person committee comprised of pro-labor leaders to determine whether there should be separate bargaining units for the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, Staten Island, and Manhattan. The United Federation of Teachers' response was to establish a single bargaining unit for all teachers in all boroughs (Goldberg, 1993).

By 1962, New York City teachers had won their first employment contract. The teachers, through organizing and bargaining, received a duty-free lunch and a \$995 annual pay increase. The contract described a system of grievances that included binding arbitration.

It took the whole huge patronage system—a political system that was subject to party politics, the powers and the whims of one person within the school, the principal—and created a system of fairness in its place (Goldberg, 1993).

**Vying for members.** However, by 1961, the NEA claimed membership of 766,000 and, at that time, it had members such as teachers and administrators.

**NEA versus AFT.** By 1969, the chasm between the NEA and the AFT eventually closed when the NEA realized that teachers outnumbered all other public employees by a great magnitude. Although the NEA once represented school administrators, whose interests were in conflict with unionism, the NEA turned itself into a teachers' union that organized the masses of American teachers for collective bargaining by 1969 (Moe, 2011). The NEA hurried to acquire urban districts nationwide, whereas the AFT did not have the expanse of representation that the NEA did. The AFT had won Detroit, Philadelphia, Washington D.C., and New York City.

By 2009, the NEA had 3.2 million members. Currently, 2.7 million of NEA members are K–12 teachers, some of them substitute or part-time teachers, and most are retired teachers and instructional aides. The AFT had expanded from 59,000 in 1962 to 1.4 million in 2010; AFT membership consists of classified workers, secretaries, janitors, bus drivers, cafeteria workers, and higher educational faculty, including professional staff such as federal and state employees, and nurses and other healthcare professionals (Kahlenberg, 2007).

As both the AFT and the NEA have affiliates in California, Florida, Minnesota, and Montana, there are some instances of double counting. However, data indicates that a little more than a third of the



AFT's teacher membership (about 250,000 out of 700,000) is shared with the NEA. Thus, the AFT represents 14% of organized teachers, while the NEA represents 78%; 8% are shared between the two of them. The AFT is concentrated in big cities such as New York, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, and Philadelphia, while the NEA is nation-wide.

The battle for teacher union leadership has faced many external factors that may adversely affect teacher union members and cause the demise of public education. This section discussed the external factors faced by AFT, one of the largest teachers' unions in the USA, over the past 50 years. In retrospect, one can examine the qualities of effective leadership because it is likely, teacher union leadership is an indicator as to the success or lack thereof of a teachers' union.

The following section explores the qualities of top union leaders. There is an underlying assumption in this thesis that leaders possess unique qualities that make them effective leaders. This thesis expects to narrow the qualities that are concentrated among teacher union leaders.

### **Qualities of Top Union Leaders**

Shared meaning is sharing the vision of the rank-and-file members in an organization. Senge (1990) uses the example of a three-dimensional hologram to explain, that no matter how small the divisions, each piece shows the whole image. As each person sees his own picture of the organization, "each shares responsibility for the whole not just for his piece" (Senge, 1990, p. 198). Uniquely shared visions require commitment and reflect the individual's own personal vision. Shared visions create commonalities that permeate an organization and give coherence to diverse activities (Senge, 1990). When people truly share a vision, they are connected through a common aspiration.

A shared vision is one of the most important elements of an effective labor union leader. The leader who shares his vision with the membership of an organization has the same vested interest of the members. Most labor union leaders emerge from the rank-and-file membership: Al Shanker and Randi

Weingarten were once teachers. For AFT union leaders, Shanker, Feldman, and Weingarten have the same vision and interests of its 1.5 million members. For example, all believe in seniority rights, after passing the probationary period, Joshua Pechthalt, of the California Federation of Teachers (2015), argues that teachers are entitled to due process. Thus, a teacher has a right to a hearing before a board where the district must provide evidence, not just hearsay, that the teacher has been ineffective. Another union leader who advocates for respect for teachers has been Dean Vogel of the California Teachers Association, who speaks against the scapegoating of teachers and the glorification of high-stakes testing (Vogel, 2011; Maginnis-Honey, 2012). All teacher union leaders have advocated for national standards, performance measures, and smaller class sizes. Personality traits—individual differences to show consistent motivations, thoughts, feelings, and actions—impact a labor union leader’s leadership behavior. The traits that particularly impact leadership behavior include influence, compassion, pragmatism, collaborative ability, charisma, extroversion, social drive, self-confidence, intelligence, and determination. These qualities have been pinpointed from descriptions of teacher union leaders in articles, biographies, and peer-reviewed academic research (McCrae & Costa, 2003). These personality traits are not exclusive to teacher labor union leaders.

**Influence.** Effective labor union leaders wield power and influence. Weingarten is connected to the educational policy communities at all levels, from local districts to the president of the United States. To wield influence also embodies having shared meaning with one’s constituents and embodying the core values of past presidential AFT leaders, including respect for the teaching profession and teacher well-being (good pay and benefits, safety in the classroom, due process (Kearney, 2011). Influence is when members put their confidence in the union leader to present and protect their interests in the workplace.

Shanker deliberated over whether to convince the teachers to strike. First, in consultation, he discovered that the Condon-Wadlin act of 1952, which barred employees from striking, was unconstitutional (Warner, 2015). Second, Shanker convinced the teachers to strike, arguing that if they did not do it, that would be the end of the union. At this point, 5,000 teachers went on strike; “Shanker feared that he was leading people into a terrible trap” (Goldberg, 1993, p. 47). The teachers’ strike got the attention of George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and New York City’s Mayor Wagner who supported the teachers. “Two years later, 22,000 teachers voted in favor of collective bargaining” (Goldberg, 1993, p. 48). “By 1962, the teachers had their first contract, procedures for arbitration, and an annual increase of \$995 in pay per teacher” (Goldberg, 1993, p. 48). Shanker was a success. He espoused the needs and values of his membership while building on shared meanings. Likewise, Sandra Feldman was characterized as a “scrappy fighter who rarely minced words” and an “impassioned advocate for public schools” (Berger, 2005, p. 1).

Feldman was remembered as someone who “takes no prisoners” and as “pragmatic and outspoken” (Berger, 2005, p. 1). Following the legacy of Shanker and the other AFT predecessors, Weingarten espouses the same values and motivation, respect for teachers, respect for teacher well being, and the retention of teacher through pensions and benefits. Weingarten says, “I see myself as building on the legacies of our past three presidents” (Kearney, 2011, p. 775).

**Compassion.** An effective leader has compassion for those that he is responsible to lead. This compassion may cause aggression toward others. For example, Weingarten was characterized by one observer as the “archetypal union leader: combative dealmaker, a consummate political street fighter for city teachers” (Medina, 2008, p. 1). Rod Paige, former Secretary of Education and critic of teachers’ unions said, “If we have a union leader, I would rather have one like Randi Weingarten. There is a sense

of reasonableness to her I think deep down she has goals and the proper balance” (Kearney, 2011, p. 777).

**Pragmatism.** Being pragmatic is a quality of an effective leader, especially when there are obstacles one’s membership may encounter. Weingarten found that she had to constantly navigate between the educational reformers in the rank-and-file membership. She determined that if she’s too close to the reformers, she risks losing her membership support, not to mention her job. If a representation of teachers benefits and privileges are too strident or too extreme, she risks losing her voice in the national educational policy arena (Kearney, 2011). Pragmatism is a constant focus for educational traditionalist.

The educational traditionalists argue for a return to the basics, emphasis on core subjects, and less attention to elective courses. The school choice advocates demand voucher programs, charter schools, a shrunken educational bureaucracy, and an un-empowered teacher union. Pragmatism is not just attributable to teacher union leaders. Pragmatism is echoed in the leadership of presidents Stern, and Rivera who continue to target and organize healthcare workers to bring them into the SEIU. This was pragmatic on several fronts:

- Stern realized that healthcare was a steady industry, close to the consumer, and unlikely to be subjected to outsourcing.
- He wanted to increase the viability of SEIU, as union membership was in decline due to the adverse effects of globalization. SEIU needed to find new constituents to ensure a steady stream of union dues so that the organization could pay lobbyists and have access, power, and influence to affect policymaking at the state and national level (Stern, 2006).

If a leader is pragmatic, chances are he has the capacity to adapt to the various circumstances at any given time. Dennis Rivera was elected to oversee SEIU’s healthcare lobbying and organizing of its 1

million healthcare members. He will be head of health policy and politics, and president of SEIU's union local 1199 which represents 275,000 workers in Maryland, Massachusetts, New York and District of Columbia. Rivera is described, by Richard Hurd, of Cornell University, as "aggressive and pragmatic" (Evans, 2007, p. 10). Rivera has been credited with boosting Local 1199's size and influence at a time organized labor has diminishing union membership. Dennis Rivera's rationale for the acquisition of 30 healthcare locals, under the health care of SEIU in conjunction with AFSCME that represents 400,000 healthcare workers would bring a boost to the unions' visibility and leverage with employers, and prospective members. SEIU's partnership with AFSCME would provide a jointly financed union hospital lobby fund for healthcare issues" (Evans, 2007, p. 10). Rivera's plans are to organize outside hospitals, long-term care and everyplace healthcare workers work, such as ambulatory surgery centers, laboratories and clinics (Evans, 2007). In this instance, one finds that the quality of pragmatism is not specific to just teacher union leaders, but to other union leaders as well. An effective, pragmatic union leader will recognize negative external environmental signals and alter the course of his leadership, if necessary. According to Bennis and Powell (2000) competency test, it is a leader's ability to alter course when given negative feedback. Stern and Rivera illustrated this in turning to the healthcare industry to acquire new members.

**Collaborative ability.** Collaborative leaders are passionate about protecting the interests of their members. Weingarten was an ardent fighter for teachers. She said that it was time to invest in the 3Rs: respect for teachers, retention of qualified staff, and resources for schools (Kearney, 2011). Feldman, who represented the United Federation of teachers, a New York City local of 110,000 members, collaborated at the national level. She worked with the Bush administration on a bill that resulted in the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) act (Berger, 2005). However, Feldman and the Bush administration differed over a philosophical divide between testing requirements and the mandates of NCLB.

According to Berger (2005) as union president and the support of her membership, Feldman supported the mayoral race of David N. Dinkins in 1989. Her collaborative skills fueled the success of Dinkins as New York City Mayor.

**Charisma.** Charisma confers a leader's ability to inspire followers with devotion and enthusiasm. A charismatic leader gains the confidence of his followers and motivates them. Northouse (2001) describes charisma to be a personality characteristic that gives a person superhuman or exceptional leadership powers and is reserved for a few. Northouse (2001) puts forth the notion that charismatic leaders have certain personal characteristics, such as being dominant or having a strong desire to influence others. A charismatic leader has self-confidence values, which he wants his followers to adopt. He articulates ideological goals that have moral overtones and communicates high expectations for followers, who believe in his ability to meet expectations (Northouse, 2001). Finally, a charismatic leader arouses task-relevant motives that may include affiliation, power, or esteem. He has the ability to mobilize human and intellectual resources.

**Extroversion.** Many union leaders exhibit behaviors that would indicate extroversion. They are highly social, active in the community, and constantly collaborating, negotiating, and interacting with their membership, political leaders, and policymakers at all levels. An extrovert concerns himself with external things, and tends to be outgoing or sociable. The opposite is an introvert: one who is shy and reticent to speak up, which is not a great quality in a leader. Sandra Feldman was such an extrovert; she has been described as an "impassioned advocate for public schools and worked with president Bush and the U.S. Congress to write the No Child Left Behind bill that imposed stricter performance on all schools receiving federal aid" (Berger, 2005, p. 2). She also denounced Mayor David Dinkins after she helped him get elected, because 110,000 members of the United Federation of Teachers union went without a contract for a year. Feldman said, "The mayor had better understand that I'd fight him to the

end for the needs of my members” (Berger, 2005, p. 2). Publically proclaiming that one is politically fighting the mayor is the act of someone who is outspoken and social; in addition, the acts exhibits the confidence and drive necessary for a good leader.

**Social drive.** Extroverted leaders are usually socially driven to seek relationships outside of themselves. They have good interpersonal skills and have the ability and desire to influence others and engender the cooperation of their followers. Eric Heins is an excellent example of a socially driven individual. He is the vice president of the California Teachers Association (CTA, n.d.). He is socially driven and has shown his high level of community involvement by chairing several committees. His social drive has extended to chairing a (CTA, n.d.) Teacher Evaluation Workgroup, in 2011, to reform teacher assessments so that these assessments focus on strengthening the teaching profession and improving student learning, rather than punishing educators. He has also been active on CTA’s (CTA, n.d.) groups addressing human rights issues, and has led workshops training the leadership of the Lesbian, Bisexual, Gay, Transgender (LBGT) movement. He has chaired the diversity committee known as “Breaking the Silence” and held a place in the Equity and Human Rights Conference Planning Committee (CTA, n.d., para. 9). Eric Heins is atypical of a socially driven union leader. There are others such as Alex-Caputo-Pearl, a United Teachers’ of Los Angeles leader (Morrison, 2014).

Catherine Ricker, an AFT official from Saint Paul Minnesota, another social extrovert, has proven that she shares with her union followers the meaning and value of being a teacher. Her social activities include the recruitment and licensing of teachers; a full-spectrum peer assistance and review program; site-based school redesign and governance; continued union organizing work; and parent-teacher visit development, including the annual Saint Paul Federation of Teachers conference (Ricker, 2014).

**Self-confidence.** To be self-confident is to be certain about one's skills, abilities, and competencies. It is the belief that one can make a difference in others' lives. Being self-confident includes feeling self-assured of one's attempt to influence a situation. It is also one of the most prominent leadership traits. Weingarten is an example of someone who asserts herself in a male-dominated arena at the education policy level. By 2011, she managed to develop national standards and testing through the American diploma project, in the face of Congress and the White House's unwillingness to enact these. It took two years, but she had with the help of The National Governors Association and the Council of Chief State School Officers. Weingarten has been described as "shaping the policy narrative" (Kearney, 2011, p. 775) for the AFT. Leaders like Weingarten are self-confident in the face of obstacles, who persist in their goals, and who are perceptive to influence others to attain success for their organization.

Weingarten also possesses the qualities that Warren Bennis (2009) suggests are essential competencies for a successful leader. Weingarten (as cited in Kearney, 2011) wrote:

- engages others by creating shared meaning,
- has a distinctive voice,
- possesses integrity, and
- shows adaptive capacity (resiliency, creativity, and ability to recognize and seize opportunities and learn from failures. (p. 775)

**Intelligence.** All four researchers agree that intelligence is a major leadership trait. Strong verbal ability and perceptual ability reasoning indicate intelligence. Stogdill and Bass (1990) include intelligence as a major leadership trait. Their findings include several factors that are associated with intelligence. Some of these factors include self-confidence, vigor and persistence in pursuit of goals,



willingness and ability to influence other people's behaviors, and venturesome and original problem solving.

With regard to intelligence, Kirkpatrick and Locke (1991) contend that leaders must be able to gather, integrate, and interpret enormous amounts of information in order to formulate appropriate strategies, solve problems, and make correct decisions. Accordingly, it is important for a leader to be "intelligent because followers want leaders who are more capable than most of the membership over which they hold authority. Leaders have to have a strong analytical ability, good judgment, and the capacity to think strategically and multidimensional in order to be effective in that role" (Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991, p. 55). Thus, an effective leader is intelligent, has conviction as to the strategies and direction for his organization, and will persist to achieve the organization's objectives.

**Determination.** Determination is one of the most commonly reiterated leadership trait described in the literature. It has been associated with phrases such as resilience, takes initiative, seizes opportunities, is driven and is willing to assert himself, persistently. Weingarten is one who exhibits determination. When she and other leaders of AFT insisted on the implementation of national standards that would define what students should know at each grade level and tests that are aligned with core subject curricula to measure achievement in order to measure student performance, they experienced resistance from Congress and the White House (Kearney, 2011). However, Weingarten was determined that it was necessary to have national standards to measure student performance (Kearney, 2011). With the assistance of AFT, she enlisted the National Governor's Association and the Council of Chief State School Officers to implement national standards and testing via the Diploma Project. By 2010, through her efforts and determination, 35 states gained a common core set of state standards for English language arts and mathematics (Kearney, 2011).

Table 1, uses information drawn from the literature to define the leadership qualities displayed by each union leader discussed in this thesis.

Table 1

*Leadership Qualities*

Qualities of union leaders	Shared Meaning	Influence	Compassion	Pragmatic	Collaborative	Charisma	Extroversion	Social Drive	Self-Confidence
Union Leaders									
Caputo-Pearl, A.	x			x	x				x
Feldman, S.	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
Heins, E.				x	x		x		x
Pechthalt, J.				x					x
Ricker, M.					x				x
Rivera, D.	x	x		x	x				x
Shanker, A.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Stern, A.	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
Vogel, D.					x				x
Weingarten, R.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

**Leadership Theories**

According to Knowles, Holton, and Swanson (2005), the highest form of leadership is releasing the energy of others and managing the participation and the ultimate decision-making process. Their research assumes that a person's commitment to a decision is proportionate to his participation in the making of a decision. Knowles et al. (2005) further posits that, if a leader encourages a person to work at what she or he does best, the individual will rise to the occasion. Participation in the decision-making process insinuates ownership in the final decision (Knowles et al., 2005). Because the prior section on leadership qualities referred to the personal traits of leaders, including compassion, shared meaning, influence, self-confidence, and the ability to collaborate. The following section describes leadership theories in order to provide hypothetical models that explain how leaders operate. This thesis identifies five distinct leadership types: pragmatic leaders, the authentic leader, the servant leader, the ethical

leader, and the transformational leader. These five are broad but specific enough to apply to the type of leader, a leader of a teacher union that is in focus in this thesis.

**Pragmatic leader.** When a union leader is engaged in collaboration, he is using his inside status as a leader to promote the job-related interests of teachers. Moe (2011) argues that, when faced with trade-offs between the interests of teachers and the interests of kids, they, the union, will side with teachers. That is their business. This trait is not typical to teachers' unions only, however; other union leaders prioritize the best interests of rank-and-file members, as well.

SEIU union leader Dennis Rivera, for example, is described as aggressive and pragmatic. He represents SEIUs healthcare lobbying and the organizing of approximately 1 million health-care members in New York, Maryland, Washington D.C., and Massachusetts. According to Richard Hurd, a professor who studies union political activity and organizations, Rivera is someone who “will do whatever is necessary to protect the interests of his members” (Evans, 2007, p. 10). Like his predecessors, Rivera believes in a labor management partnership that is a value added relationship with the employer. Rivera, president of the SEIU local, reiterates the past words of Andy Stern (as cited in Evans, 2007):

We want to be perceived by employers as value-added. He continues, We don't want the employer to be angry with the union. We want the employer to see us as a group that is not going to interfere with good patient care. (p. 11)

According to Alex Caputo-Pearl, president of United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA), the second largest union in the nation, “UTLA must be a component of educational justice. This includes fighting for pay and benefits that respect educators and encourage them to remain in the profession” (Caputo-Pearl, 2013, p. 2). Pragmatism extends to others who are cynical about the purpose of teacher union leaders, but who favor school reform, particularly in the forms of school choice vouchers and underpowered unions. Moe (2011) argues that the belief that union leaders' goals are to reform the

unions, to put the needs of the students first, and to remove the “onerous work rules that get in the way of an effective organization” (p. 244) is a fallacy. He argues that, if union leaders were interested in reforming unionism, they would support promoting teacher quality instead of protecting bad teachers. According to him, teachers are supportive of their unions because they forcefully represent the teachers’ bread-and-butter interests. This speaks to the pragmatism that an effective union leader possesses.

**Authentic leadership.** Effective leadership also requires authenticity. An authentic leader possesses solid values and integrity, develops a positive climate in the workplace, solves interpersonal problems and employee needs with the employer, and develops cohesion among the staff (Northouse, 2001). An authentic leader is an ethical leader: he leads by example, has good moral character and integrity, and makes a deliberate choice to be so, as evidenced by his actions.

According to Aristotle, ethical virtue is “a habit disposed toward action by deliberate choice, and defined by reason as a prudent man would define it” (as cited in Melden, 1967, p. 106). President Stern conscientiously had an ethical commitment to uphold “the dignity of work” and the organizations for which he fought. Authentic leadership is one in which the leader has solid values and integrity. It includes solving interpersonal problems, satisfying members’ needs, and developing cohesion. Bill Russell (as cited in Senge, 1990), a coach for the Boston Celtics, said it best:

When a team is aligned a commonality of direction emerges and individuals’ energies harmonize. A resonance of synergy develops. There is a shared vision and individuals do not sacrifice their personal interests to the larger team; rather its shared vision becomes an extension of their personal vision. (p. 219)

Knowing that a team member is one of the team means that all members of the team can easily overcome any initial skepticism.

Al Shanker (Kahlenberg, 2007) was once a teacher, too, until he found his calling as a union leader. In the early 1960s, Shanker (Kahlenberg, 2007) directed the teachers who were not organized as a collective to strike. Shanker convinced the teachers that if they did not strike, that would be the end of

the union. But if they did strike, there was a chance it, the union, would survive. Over 5,000 teachers struck, and this was enough to convince the school board within one day that some changes needed to be made.

In the early 1960s, members of the teachers' union had a shared vision—to have collective bargaining rights and an employment contract. The synergy of the teachers coalesced around an employment contract that would guarantee duty-free lunch, smaller class sizes, good employment conditions, and bargaining rights. Al Shanker's authenticity emerged through the recognition and results that Shanker received for the members of the United Federation of teachers.

George and Sims (2007) determined authentic leaders exhibit the following five qualities:

- Understand their purpose
- Practice solid values
- Lead with heart
- Establish connected relationships
- Demonstrate self-discipline. (p. xxiii)

In order to be an effective union leader, Shanker, Weingarten, and Feldman, led with authenticity, with the purpose, and with heart, and established connectedness among their members. Within an organization with a strong culture, accordingly a complex network will form in which the members will connect around knots (shared problems and goals) and have a culture of interconnectedness (Louis & Wahlstrom, 2011).

Organizations have to be adaptable in order to increase motivation, cooperation, and commitment. Teachers' unions have had to adapt and compromise on some issues that are antithetical to the protections and rights of teachers. For example, Weingarten compromised on the following:

- She supported a New Haven, Connecticut, teacher contract that permitted the dismissal of ineffective tenured teachers (Kearney, 2011, p. 778).
- The District of Columbia AFT contract devised by Weingarten and Michelle Rhee, District Schools Chancellor, expands the right to fire or promote teachers based on student performance. It offers merit-based pay increases based on student performance targets, with an inducement of \$20,000 to \$30,000 dollars (Kearney, 2011, p. 778).

Her agreement to a system that included merit-based pay and the dismissal of tenured teachers was strategic; these practices were seen by some of her members as sound and congruent with current performance appraisal measures and best practices. Furthermore, the implementation would have very little actual effect on teacher jobs. The process of dismissing tenured teachers requires due process that includes a peer review and coaching. The process of arbitration is time-intensive. It is also particularly time consuming to implement sufficient performance measures in terms of the costs of hiring a supervisor for the teachers and a consultant to devise a system, as well as the time and cost of training staff to the new system. Thus, Weingarten's presidency continues to serve and represent the interests of the union members of AFT.

**Servant leadership.** From Greenleaf, Spears, Covey, and Senge's (2002) perspective, the servant leadership model involves serving others first. Furthermore, the servant leader encourages his followers' participation and expresses the welcome value of their experience and knowledge. The servant leadership model focuses on the needs of the follower as opposed to the organization. Servant leaders develop people and help his followers strive and flourish, in doing so, a servant leader acquires credibility and trust from followers while providing a vision and influence. The servant leadership model involves serving others first (Greenleaf et al., 2002). A servant leader should encourage his followers' participation, expressing the value of their experiences and knowledge, and ensure that they

are welcomed. Stern expresses this value in the special feature article “Changing unions to change workers’ lives: An interview with SEIU President Andy Stern.” He says, “When we do have a strategy to win, people will step up and get involved” (American Institute for Social Justice, 2005, p. 29). A servant leader has integrity and practices ethical behavior.

**Ethical leadership.** An authentic leader presumably is an ethical leader. An ethical leader leads by example, has good moral character and integrity, and makes a deliberate choice to act on that integrity, as evidenced by his actions. Aristotle says that ethical virtue is a habit disposed toward action by deliberate choice, and defined by reason as a prudent man would define it (Melden, 1967). President Stern conscientiously had an ethical commitment to “the dignity of work and to organizations that give hope, voice, and strength to ordinary hardworking people” (Stern, 2006, p. 40). According to Stern, his religious training compelled him “to have principles guide his actions every day” (Stern, 2006, p. 40). Stern (2006) visualizes the individual within the confines of the family, community, and nation as:

I imagined a world of concentric and cross-influencing circles; at the core of the innermost circle was the individual, grounded by principled action and an ethical life. Stern envisioned each individual was surrounded by concentric circles of family, community, and nation. (p. 40)

Stern’s concept of community furthers Greenleaf’s (Greenleaf et al., 2002) concept of promoting a sense of community, in labor unions, leaders can focus their energies, shared objectives, and desired results.

**Transformational leadership.** The authors Stone, Russell, and Patterson (2003) contend the differences between Servant Leadership and transformational leadership is the leader’s focus. Transformational leaderships’ focus is more on organizational objectives; whereas, Servant Leadership’s focus is on the people who are their followers. Transformational leaders “elevate the interests of their employees when they generate awareness and acceptance of the mission of the group” (Stone et al., 2003, p. 3). Transformational leadership requires their employees to look beyond their own

self-interests for the good of the group. Stone et al. (2003) provide the leadership attributes of both Transformational and Servant Leadership. Transformational leadership occurs when one engages others and creates a connection that raises the level of motivation of morality in both the leader and follower. The leader is attentive to the needs of followers and assists them to reach their fullest potential. In the educational field, Weingarten has become a change-maker at the state and national levels. She has been instrumental in directing the narrative regarding implementing an objective assessment system that ensures due process for teachers in regard to teacher evaluations. She, along with the AFT, is constantly deflecting criticism of teacher evaluation, tenure, and dismissal systems (Kearney, 2011).

Reform, or transformation, at the national level entails the following: standards and assessments; teacher evaluation and accountability; developing, rewarding, and retaining effective teachers and principals; turning around low performing schools; and expanding school availability. This is a part of the “Race to the Top” (Kearney, 2011, p. 778) proposal by Arne Duncan, the United States education secretary. Weingarten and the AFT seek to be major players affecting how those dollars are spent. Reform of the educational system is ever-changing as our society evolves. Teachers and their unions have to evolve, as well. It is difficult to ascribe a particular theory of leadership to a labor union leader, because a leader’s behavior is constantly changing based on their encountered circumstances. Therefore, leadership theories will have to evolve given the circumstances union leaders may encounter. Table 2 tabulates leadership theories.

Table 2

*Leadership Theories*

	Leadership Theories	Authentic Leadership	Servant Leadership	Ethical Leadership	Pragmatic Leadership	Transformational Leadership
Union Leaders						

(continued)



	Leadership Theories	Authentic Leadership	Servant Leadership	Ethical Leadership	Pragmatic Leadership	Transformational Leadership
Caputo-Pearl			X	X	X	X
Feldman Heins		X	X	X	X X	X X
Pechthalt.		X			X	
Ricker						
Rivera			X		X	
Shanker		X	X	X	X	X
Stern		X	X	X	X	X
Vogel					X	X
Weingarten		X	X	X	X	X

## Conclusion

These leadership theories are variables that assess the effectiveness of good leaders. Leaders must be influential, not commanding and directing. This section introduced Knowles's et al. (2005) definition of leadership as releasing the energy of others and managing participation. Other researchers in this area, including Mans and Sims (1991), suggest that the most appropriate leader is one who can lead others to lead themselves. These theories are pervasive and not exclusive to one leader.

When it comes to assessing the effectiveness of leadership, one theory holds that a leader must be adaptable to change. Accordingly, a leader must be attuned to the external environment that threatens his membership (Stern, 2006; Early, 2011). Perhaps this is why Shanker agreed to some degree of school reform in order to increase teacher salaries and monies for public schools and why Weingarten maintains her presidency, even though she has compromised by allowing merit-pay in New Haven, Connecticut, and other cities.

## **Chapter 3: Methodology**

### **Overview of Research Design and Rationale**

This study explored 22 labor union leaders, their unique perspectives about the internal and external factors that have adversely affected their organizations, and the response of each organization to those factors. In the process, this study uncovered the interests and behaviors of the union leaders and the labor union, particularly as concerns the essential qualities for ensuring that the organization remain viable in the current economy. For example, Andy Stern's SEIU felt that it was necessary to "neutralize the interference of the employer" and implement a "value-added-partnership" (Early, 2009, p. 61) so he could through organizing continue to build the capacity of the union's infrastructure in order to acquire new members.

In order to achieve the purpose of this case study, I adopted an exploratory approach. An exploratory research begins with assumptions and research questions to inquire into the meaning that individuals or groups ascribed to internal and external factors (Creswell, 2007). The inquiry included a collection of data via a survey that was relevant to the people and places under study. The data analysis was inductive, so as to establish patterns or themes (Creswell, 2007).

The survey was distributed by email and completed using an online survey provider called Survey Monkey. The study also made use of public documents, autobiographies, and biographies. All data was collected from Spring 2016, within a six-week time span, in California.

The design of this study was aligned to the case study method. A case study is defined as the research of a contemporary phenomenon with a real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 2003) stated, "The essence of a case study, the central tendency among all types of case study, is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result" (p. 12).

As is characteristic of case studies, the use of a variety of data types allowed the researcher to determine appropriate analysis and strategies in order to support the convergence of evidence. The unit analysis in this case study concerned labor leaders' behaviors and values as they pertained to their unions. These behaviors may reveal personal leadership traits of each leader. The behavior of an individual is precipitated by his or her values or beliefs regarding an individual. In other words, certain beliefs and values instill certain behaviors; therefore, the values and belief systems of a leader determines what qualities instill effective leadership. To narrow the scope of the unit analysis, public documents, archival media, biographies, autobiographies, and participant responses to the surveys were used to provide a general impression of the behavior and the values of labor union leaders.

The survey was administered over the Internet, via an online survey tool, called Survey Monkey. Newspaper articles, mass/social media, online newsletters, videos, organizational newsletters, biographies, and autobiographies pertaining to each union provided insight into the teacher labor leaders and the internal and external factors that have impacted their union. They were also used to corroborate the surveys and assess the organization's policies, outcomes, and events. In addition, an online newsletter provided information about any anti-legislation and prior activism with which the organization was involved.

This research examined the top 11 qualities of an effective teacher union leader. Qualities are defined as "dimensions or individual differences in tendencies to show consistent patterns of thoughts, feelings, and actions" (McCrae & Costa, 2003, p. 23). These qualities contribute to a leader's motivations, values, and behavior, thereby revealing his or her leadership qualities. This study also examined the history of teacher union leadership and explored the internal and external factors that have affected unions over the past 50 years. It included a discussion of various leadership theories and a

survey of current teacher union leaders to determine whether there has been an evolution in the quality of union leadership over the last several decades.

### **Restatement of the Problem**

Many labor unions have experienced severe membership reduction within the past 50 years. This reduction resulted in the loss of jobs, and the diminished number of dues-paying members. Without sufficient funds from dues, the union infrastructure could neither support itself, nor pay for lobbyists, political action committees, (PACs), nor political campaigns. The labor unions' struggles have resulted from external forces, such as national and international laws that promoted free trade policies with countries that did not protect workers' rights (Prah, 2011). The problem for many labor unions was the need to remain viable, which was based, in part, on having an effective a labor union leader who could navigate the external forces affecting the organization.

### **Restatement of Research Questions**

Labor leaders have constantly been faced with internal and external obstacles, impacting the dedication and population of their membership; this context has certainly influenced their behaviors or qualities. This study examined the following research questions with regard to the above phenomenon.

1. What are the qualities of an effective union leader?
2. What are the internal and external factors that have affected teachers' unions for the past 50 years?
3. Based on the survey results and the literature, what emerging model describes an effective labor union leader?

Finally, the survey took place within a six-week time span: the conceptual framework of this study tested the underlying theories, assumptions, and personal qualities of the current labor union leaders.

## **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to determine the qualities that are evident in an effective union leader. The study examined the most relevant theories describing the types of leadership pertaining to teacher union leaders. Finally, the study surveyed 22 teacher labor union leaders and conducted historical research to uncover the qualities that define effective teacher union leaders.

This study contended that the success and suitability of a labor leader's qualities were influenced by the internal and external factors of his or her political and economic environment. Furthermore, the study held that the qualities of effective leadership impacted the success or lack thereof of the leader's union membership numbers.

## **Research Setting and Rationale**

**Setting.** The survey was taken and accessed online by respondents on the Survey Monkey portal. However, due to the lack of participation from the mailed surveys: the researcher discovered CTA was having regional leadership conference in Woodland Hills and San Diego California. At both conferences, I approached the conference coordinator and explained the reason I was there; afterwards, I was able to approach individuals, who were attending the conference, over and again I explained the nature of the study, it's purpose and would they be willing to participate in the study? Once I received a verbal consent, I handed the consent form to be signed and requested their e-mail address and mailing address so that a copy of that consent form with a lottery ticket could be mailed to them. Next, I explained how to access the survey through a link within their e-mail. Because the survey was administered online, I sent a follow-up e-mail thanking each participant for participating in the study and informing him or her that the survey could be accessed at any time within the study's time frame.

**Rationale.** The rationale for this single case study was based on the possibility that it would validate the findings of past leadership theorists and reveal past leadership traits typical or representative

of today's labor union leaders. On the other hand, this study may validate the underlying assumptions that certain values, behaviors and a leader's belief systems determine the quality of effective leadership irrespective of the internal or external events that may affect their membership.

This study examined the qualities that form an effective labor union leader, in terms of 11 personal qualities and tested the leadership theories against the underlying research. It aimed to determine whether the leadership theories are correct. Another rationale for this study was exploratory; the researcher could have discovered that these particular leadership theories revealed something unique about teacher union leaders. For instance, the researcher might have found that the character traits or values of labor leaders were converging or that they were typical. For example, the author Steve Early (2011) analyzed the character of Andy Stern, the then president of SEIU, in terms of Stern's motivation and decision not to support the Communication Workers of America (CTA), during the workers' dispute with Kaiser Permanente. Stern had cultivated a labor-management partnership with Kaiser Permanente in 2002–2006. Despite his relationship with Kaiser, Stern capitulated and gave a “green light” to Kaiser Permanente when the organization wanted to decertify the Communication Workers of America (CWA) during a labor dispute (Early, 2011, p. 64). This action revealed an antithetical personality trait of Andy Stern. His motivation may have been pragmatic, due to the low number of CWA workers, regardless of the fact that Stern had a quest to bring more members into SEIU (Early, 2011).

### **Description of Sample Respondents**

The study consisted of 22 teacher labor union leaders. Out of the 22, two formed the pilot study and referred to as respondents 14 and 15, respectively. They are apart from the study, but are of the same demographic as the respondents in the final study. Respondent 14 was the one individual who returned by U.S. mail with a signed consent form and a paper survey. Respondent 15 completed the paper survey and signed the consent form on-site, at the Woodland Hills conference. These teacher labor

union leaders, respondents 14 and 15 were identified as labor union leaders. At both conferences, there were more men than women ( $n = 12$ , 60%, male;  $n = 8$ , 40%, women). The majority of the respondents had Master's degrees,  $n = 15$  and there were only 3 that had Doctorates.

### **Human Subject Protection**

**Informed consent.** The respondents to the pilot study and the final study were required to sign a consent form. The consent form explained the nature of the study and that their identification would be completely anonymous. The consent form explains the purpose of the study, and that their participation is completely voluntary and they could withdraw from the study at any time.

**Risk minimization and benefit maximization.** The study was conducted in accordance with the regulations and guidelines established by Pepperdine University's Graduate and Professional Schools Institutional Review Board (IRB; Pepperdine, n.d.). This study complied with the U.S. Code of Federal Regulations (CFR), Title 45, part 46 (45 CFR 46), entitled Protection of Human Subjects, and Parts 160 and 16 (Pepperdine University, n.d., para. 4). Accordingly, the study qualified under the exempt review category, because the nature of the survey instrument posed a minimum risk of harm to human subjects, but might benefit future teacher labor union leaders. This minimum risk is defined by federal regulations as the following: "the probability and magnitude of physical or psychological harm that is normally encountered in the daily lives, or in the routine medical, dental, or psychological examination of healthy persons" (E-protocol IRB Guide, n.d., para. 3).

Although the study represented minimal risk to the participants, the researcher applied to the IRB for a review process. However, based on the nature of the survey items and the procedures of the study, the risk to a participant's reputation was not likely, even if there were a breach of confidentiality. The survey process protocol, the archival document retrieval, and the perspectives of others limited the research, because neither attitudinal data nor the surroundings of the individual were assessed. A

completed application was submitted to the Pepperdine IRB for expedited approval (Pepperdine University, n.d.).

**Confidentiality and data management.** Each participant was reminded that participation was strictly voluntary and that he or she could withdraw at any time. Once the recipients agreed to participate in the study, pseudonyms were used in the final stages of the dissertation in order to protect the identity of each participant and any personal information. Finally, the participant was reminded that any personal information connected to this study was *confidential* as far as permitted by law. However, as required by law, the researcher might be required to disclose information collected. Examples of the types of issues that would require a researcher to break confidentiality include instances of child abuse and elder abuse. Pepperdine University's Human Subjects Protection Program (HSPP) might also access the data collected. The HSPP occasionally reviews and monitors research studies to protect the rights and welfare of research subjects.

The data were stored on a password-protected computer in the researcher's office, and it will remain there for three years after the study's completion, at which time, it will be destroyed. The data collected were coded, de-identified, and transcribed.

### **Data Collection Procedures**

**Preliminary matters.** Prior to data selection, each participant was sent a cover letter and an Informed Consent Form Letter to read and sign (see Appendix A). The letter indicated the purpose of the study, assured participants that their identity would be held in confidence, and informed them that their proper names and the places mentioned in relationship to them would be assigned pseudonyms.

**Assignment to groups.** Groups can provide useful insight, because they stimulate talk from multiple perspectives. However, in a group setting, participants might not share the same experiences that they would share individually; in this case, the researcher would suffer from the loss of quality data.



Groups can be assigned according to age and ethnicity, based on the surveys received. However, after the surveys were retrieved, these study groups were determined by the participants' leadership personality traits.

**Convening participants.** The focus of the case study was the effectiveness of teacher union leaders within southern California. The participants were gathered primarily through the CTA regional leadership conference in Woodland Hills and San Diego. The researcher met potential participants, explaining the purpose and nature of the study and requested them to participate in the survey to be sent and accessed through each one's e-mail.

### **Instrumentation**

**Development of survey instrument.** The instrument was developed on the Survey Monkey portal. Surveys implicitly require a certain level of computer skills and the ability to relay verbal information, but they do not record or reveal individual or attitudinal behavior. Survey Monkey will provide some analytics; however, an email was sent to Survey Monkey requesting all of the data from the survey. Once all of the data was retrieved from Survey Monkey, descriptive statistics, from SPSS, a statistical, software was used to analyze the data. The survey included a demographic portion, organized into three sections: demographic background, academic/professional background, and union leadership role. Background characteristics included gender and age; this section provided a greater understanding of the demographic makeup of the union's membership and was used for statistical purposes.

Included in this section are the professional experiences of the participants, prior to becoming labor union leaders. The professional background characteristics included questions about the length of time spent teaching, prior to becoming a labor union leader. The purpose of the questions was to gain insight and understanding of the experiences of each participant within the union.

## Pilot Study

The pilot study determined whether the findings would vary or converge with the study. Respondents 14 and 15 made up the pilot study; specifically, Respondent 14 was the only individual who returned the paper survey and the signed consent form. Respondent 15, who was attending the CTA Regional Leadership Conference, preferred to complete the paper version of the survey and sign the consent form, then, at the conference. Descriptive statistics were not used for the responses of respondents 14 and 15; tables were created to illustrate their responses. Both respondents worked in the K–12 educational sector. One had been in a school district for two years and the other, for five years. Respondents 14 and 15 ages ranged from 40 to 60 years old, and the pair of them had Master’s degrees.

## Research Question 1

Research question 1 asks: What qualities make an effective labor union leader? Respondent 14 chose the following qualities: compassion, collaborative ability, and intelligence. Respondent 15 chose collaborative ability, charisma, self-confidence, and intelligence. The final study found collaborative ability to be 90% and intelligence to be 65%. Both respondents had these two qualities in common. These findings of respondents 14 and 15 were congruent with the final study: an effective leader must possess the ability to collaborate, have intelligence, and have self-confidence, presumably in order to be an effective labor union leader. Respondents 14 and 15 were instructed to choose all of the factors that applied. Table 3 indicates those qualities, according to respondents 14 and 15, that comprise an effective labor union leader.

Table 3

### *Internal Factors of the Pilot Study*

Internal Factors Ranked	Respondent 14	Respondent 15
Collaborative ability	•	•
Charisma		•

(continued)

Internal Factors Ranked	Respondent 14	Respondent 15
Compassion	•	
Intelligence	•	•
Self-Confidence		•

Stogdill and Bass (1990) found that intelligence incorporates the following descriptors: self-confidence, vigor, persistence in pursuit of goals, willingness and ability to influence other people's behavior, and venturesome, proclivity toward to problem solving. Kirkpatrick and Locke (1991) posited that is important for a leader to be intelligent, because "followers want leaders who are more capable than most of their membership" (p. 55). Furthermore, the Kirkpatrick and Locke (1991) authors indicate, "an effective leader is intelligent, has conviction as to the strategies and the direction for his organization and will persist to achieve the organizations' objections" (p. 55).

### **Research Question 2a**

Respondent 15 indicated weakened state budgets as a factor, and Respondent 14 indicated the following factors: organizing ability, confidence in leadership, and shared vision. These factors were reiterated with, respondents 14 and 15, in that the factors of organizing ability and shared leadership are significant for effective labor union leadership.

### **Research Question 2b**

This question required respondents to use a Likert rating scale to indicate whether they strongly disagreed, disagreed, were undecided, agreed, or strongly agreed: this is illustrative in Table 4. The Likert-type rating scale in Table 4 is ordinal; thus, respondents selected a limited number of categories that had some order to them. The results of Likert rating scales can be interpreted via bar charts, median, and mode, which are appropriate descriptive statistics for this study. Frequency tables were created to determine how many people fit into a certain category, and Likert-type questions were used to gather data about the internal and external factors that have affected the leadership of the teacher

labor unions within the past 50 years. The data was discrete, not continuous; therefore, variance and standard deviation statistics were not necessary in either the pilot study or the final study (Fink, 2013).

Table 4

*Likert Scale for Internal Factors*

	Strongly Disagree 2	Disagree 3	Undecided 4	Agree 5	Strongly Agree 6
Patronage	3x1	4x2	3x3	6x4	5x2
Civil Service Reform	2x1	1x1	10x3	3x4	1x5
Right to Work	1x1	0		5x4	11x5
Condon Wadlin Act	0	2x1	8x3	5x4	2x5
Taft- Hartley	1x1	1x2	4x3	8x4	3x5

*Note.*  $N = 20$

Table 5

*External Factors of the Pilot Study*

External factors	Respondent 14	Respondent 15
Patronage: the distribution of jobs and favors based upon one's political party or political campaign.	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Civil Services Reform Movement (1930-1940s): placed most federal employees on the merit system.	Undecided	Undecided
Right to Work legislation: secures the right of employees to decide for themselves whether or not to join or financially support union activities.	Agree	Agree
Condon-Wadlin law (1947): forbids and penalizes strikes by governmental employees in New York state	Undecided	Undecided
Taft-Hartley Act (1947): gives employees the right to refrain from participating in union activities and adds a series of prohibited unfair labor practices by unions	Undecided	Strongly Disagree

The findings were as follows: Respondents 14 and 15 disagreed on the external factor of patronage as having affected teachers' unions for the past 50 years. However, they ranked this factor, patronage in the second place. As to whether the Civil Service Reform Movement had affected teachers' unions within the past 50 years, there was indecision between Respondents 14 and 15. Yet, pertaining to the external factor of the Right to Work legislation, there was agreement. When both of the respondents were asked to rank the external factors, with 1 being the lowest and 5 the highest, congruent with the

final study, Right to Work ranked number 1, Taft-Hartley was 2, and there was disagreement as to whether the Civil Service Reform Movement or the Condon-Wadlin Act was significant, there was indecision. For the pilot study, when the respondents 14 and 15 were indecisive about a factor, the table was left blank.

Table 6

*External Factors, Rankings From the Pilot Study*

External Factors Ranked	Respondent 14	Respondent 15
Patronage	2	2
Civil Services Reform Movement		
Right to Work legislation	1	1
Condon-Wadlin Law (1947)		
Taft-Hartley Act (1947)		3

Asking respondents to rank the internal and external factors provides insight for the researcher in terms of how respondents compares and contrasted the factors against one another. This assumes that respondents have sufficient knowledge of how these external factors impact labor unions, for teachers, how would they impact school districts?

### **Research Question 3**

Research question 3 asked: What emerging model of leadership describes an effective labor union leader? Respondents were requested to rank leadership traits from number 1 being the highest and number 5, being the lowest, by requesting respondents to rank-order factors, provides the researcher insight into how respondents contrast, or perceive in terms of significance, one factor to another (Fink, 2013). Respondents 14 and 15 found little agreement on the model of leadership factors, although they did agree on the factors of shared meaning/ shared vision.

Table 7

*Ranked Models of Leadership, From the Pilot Study*

Ranked models of leadership	Respondent 14	Respondent 15
Shared Meaning/ Shared Vision	1	1
Pragmatic	2	3
Authentic Leadership	3	2
Servant Leadership	5	4

**Research Question 4**

Respondents were requested to check all that applied. Respondents 14 and 15 each chose the following choices (See Table 8):

Table 8

*Model of Leadership, the Pilot Study*

Leadership Model	Respondent 14	Respondent 15
Shared Meaning-Shared Vision	•	•
Pragmatic Leadership	•	
Authentic Leadership	•	•
Servant Leadership	•	
Ethical Leadership		
Transformational Leadership	•	•

**Data Analysis**

**Coding.** The process of coding involves searching through the data for regularities and patterns, as well as for words or phrases that provide insight into the purpose of the study. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) provided the researcher with guidance on the coding process. According to them, each unit of data (a sentence or paragraph) can be coded under a category, and it may be coded with more than one coding category. The demographics represented a unit of data, coded as a category. Demographic data can be stratified into age, ethnicity, gender, and income level. In this study income level of respondents was not requested. However, in terms of coding, suppose the researcher has a category entitled “perspectives held by leaders” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 173). Under this category, he would place

particular phrases, points of view, or other aspects related to leaders' perspectives. The researcher could also have an *event code*, which might encompass units of data related to a labor union strike, the external events that have been challenging for a labor union, or a description of the setting for an interview. In this study, by having open-ended questions provided respondents to write –in their own perspective as to the internal and external factors that they perceive to adversely affect their labor unions.

### **Trustworthiness and Validity**

According to Yin (2003), one must perform four tests to determine the validity of the concepts being studied in any given research design:

1. Construct validity: Establish correct operational measures for the concepts being studied.
2. Internal validity: Establish a causal relationship, whereby certain conditions lead to other conditions.

Internal validity is ideal for exploratory case studies in which the researcher wants to determine whether one event led to another event. In this study, the researcher explored which behavioral traits are most significant to an effective leader.

As the research was being conducted through the survey process, the researcher had to make inferences from all the collected data, archival records, biographies, and Internet resources in order to establish the validity of the data. Yin (2003) suggested several ways to address the issue of inference:

- Pattern-matching
- Explanation-building
- Addressing alternative explanations
- Utilizing logic modules
- Establishing external validity.

External validity denotes that the findings of the study can be replicated. Specifically, if one were to repeat the study, would the results reveal the same 11 leadership traits that make an effective leader?

According to Yin (2003), the ability for another researcher to replicate the study multiple times, arriving at the same conclusion, supports the reliability of the study.

Creswell (2007) and Yin (2003) suggested forming a triangulation by using multiple sources of evidence via the creation of a case study database and by maintaining a chain of evidence. The rationale for the triangulation of evidence is to broaden the range of evidence that can be retrieved in terms of attitudinal, historical, and behavioral data. Triangulation lends itself to the creation of more accurate and valid data research. Yin (2003) described the four methods of triangulating data:

- Data sources (or data triangulation), which require collecting data from multiple sources with the aim of corroborating the same fact or phenomenon
- Investigator triangulation
- Theory triangulation, which assesses various perspectives of the same data
- Methodological triangulation, which triangulates the methods used to conduct the study.

### **Case Study Database**

The creation of a database allowed the researcher to organize and document the data collected. The forming of a tabular database allowed other researchers to review the evidence, so the data were not expressed merely in the form of a written case study report. The tabular database consisted of case study notes that recorded the researcher's document analysis, observations, diary, and index cards. The database may also consist of tabular materials and various counted phenomena.

### **Written Analysis**

A written analysis ensued after the research was compiled and completed. In general, an analysis either finds that the theoretical basis for this study is correct or that further study is unnecessary.



## **Chapter 4: Research Findings**

The purpose of this study was to examine labor union leaders' opinions about the qualities that make an effective labor union leader. This study primarily focused on teacher union leaders; however, it was sufficiently broad enough to extend to other types of union leaders. This chapter compares the literature review to the survey's findings and provides additional respondent perspectives on these issues. The research questions that guide the study are as follows: Using mixed methods, this study sought to address the following research questions:

1. What are the qualities of an effective union leader?
2. What are the internal and external factors that have affected teachers' unions for the past 50 years?
3. Based on the survey results and the literature, what emerging model describes an effective labor union leader?
4. What are the demographic characteristics of labor union leaders?

Some of the research questions were separated in order to a list certain kinds of responses in order to glean how respondents contrast certain factors against another—as in the Likert scale questions to determine how one factor has more of a prominence in the knowledge and experiences of the respondents.

The questionnaire designed for the research was divided into four sections, each addressing one of the research questions. Three of the research questions provided a selection of answers and were followed with an open-ended question to allow the respondents to expand on their responses. Included was a demographic questionnaire that was organized into three sections: gender, academic- professional, educational background, and years with district before becoming school leaders.

## **Response Rate**

Initially, during the Spring 2016, 22 to paper surveys along with consent forms with an enclosed stamped, self-addressed envelope to be signed, was sent by US mail to teacher labor union leaders in Southern California. These individuals were identified as possible teacher union leaders on the California Federation of Teacher's website. Only one individual responded to the mailers, which is identified in this study as respondent 14 who comprised the pilot study. Because the response rate was only 1 out of 22 mailers, I developed another strategy. California Teachers Association was having a regional leadership conference in Woodland Hills and San Diego California. Being present at those conferences increased the response rate to the survey.

After meeting and greeting the potential respondents, explaining the nature of the study, and emphasizing that I was conducting a survey as a graduate student at Pepperdine University to complete my doctoral study, potential participants agreed to take the survey. The response rate improved tremendously, and in a timely manner, to a total of 20 participants.

## **Data**

Survey Monkey was utilized to design a survey that covered the breadth of quantitative data and descriptive statistics. Tables are included to display the array of the samples selected responses. The data was all gathered on Survey Monkey through participants filling out the questionnaire. The responses were downloaded from Survey Monkey in an SPSS file, Version 22.0. The researcher de-identified the data by removing the emails and locations of the participants from the data set. Frequencies tables were constructed in order to determine whether there were any unusual values or missing data. The missing data was recoded as missing and a value of 9 was placed in the empty cells.

As seen in Table 8, there was a final sample of 20 participants, with the majority being male ( $n = 12$ , 60.0%) and the rest female ( $n = 8$ , 40.0%). Participant age ranged from 30 years of age to over

60 years of age. The largest age group was 50 to 59 years of age ( $n = 8$ , 33.3%), followed by 60 years of age or older ( $n = 6$ , 25.0%), 40 to 49 years of age ( $n = 3$ , 12.5%), and 30 to 39 years of age ( $n = 3$ , 12.5%). Table 3 provides the estimated sample statistical Mean for the age of the respondents who attended the conference.

Table 9

*Demographics*

Range of ages	Frequency ( $f$ )	Midpoint ( $mp$ )	$(f)(mp)$
30–39	3	34.5	103.5
40–49	3	44.5	133.5
50–59	8	54.5	436
60	6	30	180
	Sum = 20		Sum = 853

*Note.*  $n = 20$

Estimate of sample mean =  $853/20 = 42.65$

This illustrates the average age attending the conference was 42.5.

Mode = 54.5

The majority of participants had a Master's degree ( $n = 15$ , 62.5%); the next largest group had a Doctorate degree ( $n = 3$ , 12.5%), while only a few had a Bachelor's degree ( $n = 2$ , 8.3%). Most participants identified as White ( $n = 13$ , 54.2%), followed by Black or African American ( $n = 2$ , 8.3%), American Indian or Alaskan Native ( $n = 2$ , 8.3%), multiracial ( $n = 2$ , 8.3%), and other ( $n = 1$ , 4.2%), this last respondent self-identified as Scottish-Hispanic.

The survey also questioned the length of time respondents had taught in other school districts. Many participants reported 5 or more years of teaching ( $n = 8$ , 40.0%) and other ( $n = 7$ , 35.0%), while the rest reported 2 years of teaching ( $n = 4$ , 20.0%) and 3 years of teaching ( $n = 1$ , 5.0%).

On the answers identified for the response of other ( $n = 7$ , 35.0%), the seven answers were: "can't answer"; "I am professional staff in high school"; "I have taught in two school districts"; "I have worked in 4 school districts"; "Only 1 district"; "The answer choice does not fit"; and "The answer does not seem to make sense."

Most of the respondents had a Master's (75%, n=15) or a Doctorate (15%, n= 3) degree. (Four individuals preferred not to answer this question.)

### Findings for Each Research Question

**Research question 1.** Research question 1 asked: What are the qualities that comprise an effective labor union leader? The following qualities have been determined to be characteristics of an effective labor union leader. These traits have been gleaned from the leadership literature during the past 50 years. However, the surveys from the leaders of the CTA yield the following data. Respondents could choose all answers they determined to be qualified responses. The responses provided by the 20 participants indicated that the quality of collaborative ability was most a prominent indicator of a leader's effectiveness ( $n = 18$ ). The next most frequently selected traits was determination ( $n = 17$ ), followed by shared meaning / shared vision ( $n = 16$ ), intelligence ( $n = 13$ ), self-confidence ( $n = 12$ ), compassion ( $n = 10$ ), influence ( $n = 8$ ), pragmatism ( $n = 6$ ), charisma ( $n = 6$ ), social drive ( $n = 3$ ), and extroversion ( $n = 1$ ).

Table 10

*Frequency Counts for the Qualities That Respondents Indicated Were Most Salient for an Effective Leader*

Response	Frequency	Percent
Shared Meaning-Shared Vision	16	80.0
Influence	8	40.0
Compassion	10	50.0
Pragmatism	6	30.0
Collaborative Ability	18	90.0
Charisma	6	30.0
Extroversion	1	5.0
Social Drive	3	15.0
Self-Confidence	12	60.0
Intelligence	13	65.0
Determination	17	85.0

The study found collaborative ability to be 90.0% and intelligence 65.0%. Both respondents had these two factors in common. These findings converge with the findings of the final study and the literature, which indicated that an effective leader's ability to be intelligent, to be self-confident, and to collaborate all influence these personal qualities. Stogdill and Bass (1990) include intelligence as one of the major leadership traits. The authors define intelligence as strong verbal ability. In fact, several factors are associated with intelligence: self-confidence, vigor, persistence in goals, willingness to lead, the ability to influence other people's behaviors, and creative problem solving ability.

**Research question 2.** Research question 2 asked: What are the internal factors that have affected teachers' unions for the past 50 years? This question was divided into two separate questions and participants were asked on a Likert scale whether they strongly disagree to strongly agree with various statements. The results are shown in Table 9. In addition, participants were asked to provide further information in open-ended responses, which provides substantial richness to the study. The recurring comments regarding the internal factors that have affected teachers' unions are as follows: "Apathy. Members expect things to be done for them instead of working together to get the job done." Or "apathy and the assumption that the union is a service for which you pay rather than a right that needs to be protected and fought for in order to keep it."

Table 11

*Respondent Perspectives on the Internal Factors That Have Affected Teachers' Labor Unions Within the Past 50 Years*

Response
Apathy, members expect things to be done for them instead of working together to get the job done.
Leadership is always a factor that can affect the union. In the case of my own union, for years leadership roles were handed down to people chosen by the current president rather than having those individuals elected. Regular meetings were not held, as a result, and members became apathetic, which has negatively impacted the strength of our unit.

(continued)

Response
Lack of member awareness and engagement
Organizing ability, confidence in leadership, shared vision
Apathy and the assumption that the union is a service for which you pay rather than a right that needs to be protected and fought for in order to keep it.
Apathy about joining and a lack of consistent organizing efforts.
Disconnection of the hearing and with general members.
No compromise on issues within the union; petty jealousy over leadership positions.

Table 12

*Likert Scale Internal Factors That Have Affected Teachers' Labor Unions Within the Past 50 Years*

Internal Factor	Strongly Disagree 2	Disagree 3	Undecided 4	Agree 5	Strongly Agree 6
Patronage	3x1	4x2	3x3	6x4	5x2
Civil Service Reform	2x1	1x1	10x3	3x4	1x5
Right to Work	1x1	0		5x4	11x5
Condon Wadlin Act	0	2x1	8x3	5x4	2x5
Taft- Hartley	1x1	1x2	4x3	8x4	3x5

*N* = 20

Table 13

*Average and Median of Above Likert Scale*

External Factors	Average	Median
Patronage	2.7	4
Civil Service Reform	2.5	3
Right to Work	3.85	3
Condon Wadlin Act	2.8	3.5
Taft- Hartley	2.7	3

Table 14.

*Likert Scale External Factors That Have Affected Teachers' Labor Unions Within the Past 50 Years*

Internal Factors	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Undecided 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5	Average	Median
Leadership	2x1	2x2	1x3	7x4	6x5	3.45	2

(continued)

Internal Factors	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Undecided 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5	Average	Median
Collective Bargaining-Organizing	2x1	1x2	1x3	6x4	8x5	.9	2
Strengthening union members-organizing	2x1	1x2	3x3	6x4	5x5	3.1	3
Internal Factors				Average	Median		
Leadership				3.45	2		
Collective Bargaining-Organizing				.9	2		
Strengthening union members-organizing				3.1	3		

Table 15

*Respondents' Perceptions of the Internal Factors That Have Affected Teachers' Unions for the Past 50 Years*

Ratings	Frequency	Percentage
Leadership		
Strongly Disagree	2	11.1
Disagree	2	11.1
Undecided	1	5.6
Agree	7	38.9
Strongly Agree	6	33.3
Collective Bargaining-Organizing Members		
Strongly Disagree	2	11.1
Disagree	1	5.6
Undecided	1	5.6
Agree	6	33.3
Strongly Agree	8	44.4
Strengthening Union Members		
Strongly Disagree	2	11.8
Disagree	1	5.9
Undecided	3	17.6
Agree	6	35.3
Strongly Agree	5	29.4

## External Factors

The purpose of the Likert scale, in research question 2, is to discern whether the respondents have knowledge of the internal factors-patronage, civil-service reform, Right to work, Condon-Wadlin

Act, or Taft-Hartley act—that have adversely affected their membership? Many respondents strongly agree that the external factors of Right to Work legislation has had an impact on their membership. There Civil Service factor had a strong percent of (n=10 58.8%), this may have been an indication that respondents was unsure how this factor impacted union leadership or teachers' unions. whereas that Taft-Hartley factor had a strong frequency count. These statistics indicate respondents have some knowledge of these factors and have an understanding as to which factors have an impact on their membership, collective bargaining, and ultimately the effectiveness of labor union leadership. Many respondents were undecided on the Condon-Wadlin external factor most likely because it was law specific to New York State. All of the factors were briefly described to the respondents.

Participants were also prompted to provide their opinions concerning what external factors have affected teachers' unions over the past 50 years. One participant commented that political and corporate interests are an external factor. Another said, "Proposition 30 for California," while another indicated, "These relate to Federal employees, not state employees." Many respondents mentioned "weakened state budgets," "lack of member awareness and engagement," in house fighting over politics, micro-managers asking too much too often, and "outside attacks, teachers beat down, over-worked with too many things thrown at them, apathy, general decline of unionism in this country."



Table 16

*External Factor Likert Scale*

<b>External Factors</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree 1</b>	<b>Disagree 2</b>	<b>Undecided 3</b>	<b>Agree 4</b>	<b>Strongly Agree 5</b>
Patronage	3x1	4x2	3x3	6x4	5x2
Civil Service Reform	2x1	1x1	10x3	3x4	1x5
Right to Work	1x1	0		5x4	11x5
Condon Wadlin Act	0	2x1	8x3	5x4	2x5
Taft- Hartley	1x1	1x2	4x3	8x4	3x5

N=20

<b>External Factors</b>	<b>Average</b>	<b>Median</b>
Patronage	2.7	4
Civil Service Reform	2.5	3
Right to Work	3.85	3
Condon Wadlin Act	2.8	3.5
Taft- Hartley	2.7	3

N=20

This research question used the same Likert-scale rating system to be consistent, and the acquisition of descriptive statistics, data by calculating the estimated sample Mean, the average and median when necessary.

The respondents were prompted to provide their opinions about the external factors that have affected teachers' unions throughout the past 50 years. The literature review indicated that the Civil Services Reform Movement, Right to Work legislation, and the Taft-Hartley Act, 1947 were definite factors. A description of each was provided to respondents, who may or may not have ready knowledge about the factors. One respondent commented that political and corporate interests are an external factor. Another respondent said, "Proposition 30 for California," and another said, "These relate to Federal employees, not state."

A follow-up question requested respondents to assign a rank, with 1 being the lowest and 5 being the highest salience, to the following five factors: Patronage; Civil Service Reform Movement; the Condon-Wadlin Act; the Taft-Hartley Act; and Right to Work laws. Of the respondents, 15 answered the question and eight skipped the question. Right to Work was the most prevalently selected among the respondents (75%). Right to Work is a direct threat to all bargaining collectives, so it is not surprising that teachers' union members see it as such to themselves. The second most frequent choice was the Taft-Hartley Act (33.33%). This act is adverse to labor union activities, as it allows employees the right to refrain from participating in union activities and paying union dues.

### Research Question 3

Using the survey results and the literature, what model emerges that describes an effective leader? Participants were asked to provide their opinions of other leadership models as an open-ended question, and to check all that applied. Table 8 summarizes what models of leadership styles participants deemed effective for labor union leaders.

Table 17

#### *Leadership Qualities Model*

Leadership Style	Frequency	Percentage
Shared Meaning-Shared Vision	15	75.0
Pragmatic Leader	10	50.0
Authentic Leadership	14	70.0
Servant Leadership	11	55.0
Ethical Leadership		
Transformational	13	65.0

Some respondents suggested that there were other traits not included in the given options, such as “open communication” and “engagement of all stakeholders.” The Leadership Qualities Respondents Deem to Constitute an effective Labor Union Leader

## Summary

The findings incontrovertibly indicate that teacher union members believe an effective labor union leader has to possess the following qualities:

- Ability to collaborate ( $n = 20$ , 86.96%)
- Shared meaning and determination ( $n = 19$ , 82.61%)
- Shared vision ( $n = 18$ , 78.26%)

Concerning the internal factors, 15 respondents (72.2%) agreed that leadership is an internal factor and 77.7% indicated that collective bargaining and organizing are salient factors that lead to the viability and sustainability of the labor union. There is strong agreement (64.7%) that strengthening union members is important, too. These internal factors dictate the internal capacity of the bargaining unit. Table 7 introduced the external factors proposed by the literature to have affected unions over the past 50 years. Respondents coalesced around “right to work” ( $n = 16$ , 88.9%) and 12 respondents agree ( $n = 12$ , 64.27%). However, the findings from the survey research study indicated the respondents did not find other external factors, such as the charter school movement, merit pay, tuition tax credits for parents to enroll their child into a private school and school vouchers as mentioned in the literature, to be an external factor that would have impacted public education.

One possible explanation the respondents failed to acknowledge these other external factors significance might be due to these external factors lack of prevalence or nonexistence in California and most of the respondents were CTA members. Another explanation, might be that before these factors became entrenched in American society they were politically defeated due to the strength and legislative influence of the teacher’s unions.

Finally, research question three asks what model describes an effective labor union leader. There were strong percentages around the following: shared meaning / shared vision ( $n = 15$ , 75%), authentic leadership ( $n = 14$ , 70%), and transformational leadership ( $n = 13$ , 65%).

## **Chapter 5: Discussion**

This research focuses on labor union leadership in an environment with declining unionism and legislative antithetical fervor toward public sector workers, coupled with apathy among collective bargaining members. This study considers the qualities of labor union leaders to be factors in the sustainability of unions.

The study examined the perspectives of labor union leaders from the California Teachers Association (CTA), providing open-ended questions within the survey protocol to provide respondents the opportunity to provide further information on other traits of labor union leaders. Respondents were also requested to rank traits, with 1 being the lowest score and 4 being the highest, to represent the extent to which they believe the traits indicate effective leadership in a teacher union leader. The purpose of this was to concretize, from the respondent's perspective, the rank of each factor.

Using mixed methods, this study sought to address the following research questions:

1. What are the qualities of an effective union leader?
2. What are the internal and external factors that have affected teachers' unions for the past 50 years?
3. Using the survey results and literature, what model emerges that describes an effective labor union leader?
4. What are the demographic characteristics of labor union leaders?

This chapter presents a comparison of the study's findings to the findings from the literature.

Implications from the research and recommendations will be provided for moving forward.

### **Summary of Chapter 4 Results**

Most of the participants surveyed were CTA members. The qualities that make an effective labor union leader, shared meaning / shared vision ( $n = 16$ , 80%), collaborative ability ( $n = 18$ , 90%), and determination ( $n = 17$ , 85%); these factors were prominent in the final study due to the high percentages from the respondents. The respondents were requested to rank, from strongly disagree to strongly agree, the elements of leadership, collective bargaining / organizing members, and

strengthening union members. The respondents indicated that they agreed, and some strongly agreed, that all three of the above elements were important.

In terms of the external factors that have affected teachers' unions for the past 50 years, the majority of respondents strongly agree that Right to Work laws were a factor, while they did not agree that the Taft-Hartley Act, 1947, and the Condon-Wadlin Act, 1947 act was a factor. Most likely they considered the affect to be specific to New Yorkers, although the Taft-Hartley Act undermined the strength of organized labor for public-sector workers and impacted the lives of union workers nationwide.

Finally, the surveys emanated from a majority of individuals who worked in school districts, so it is not surprising that there are concerns centered on leadership and collective bargaining. Had the survey respondents hailed from other bargaining units, such as the SEIU, the findings may have reflected a broader spectrum of individuals who consider the elements of collective bargaining and organizing to be more salient than leadership in the success of a union. Another possible reason could be that their members readily access teacher leaders. The larger unions, such as the AFL-CIO, have leaders who are more removed from the individual local bargaining units.

### **Concise Summary of Findings**

Most of the respondents came from the K–12 educational sector. They were largely regional district leaders of the CTA, representatives of a local bargaining unit, and NEA representatives. The group was 60% male and 40% female.

Many found leadership to be an internal factor of teacher labor unions, because many respondents expressed a lack of member engagement, or apathy (47.37%), and they agreed that strengthening union membership was necessary (47.37%). Respondents found that leaders should possess the following qualities: collaborative ability in equals ( $n = 18$ , 90%), determination ( $n = 17$ ,

85%), and shared meaning / shared vision ( $n = 16$ , 80%). They indicated that a leader should have servant leadership ( $n = 11$ , 55%) and authentic leadership ( $n = 14$ , 70%) qualities.

## **Literature Review**

This literature review is organized into four sections: a brief description of leadership, a history of teachers' unions, a discussion of the internal factors that have affected teachers' unions within the past 50 years, and an explanation of the external factors that have affected teachers' unions within the past 50 years.

While teachers' unions have experienced external factors such as school accountability measures, content standards, merit pay, and school vouchers, other unions experienced different external factors, such as globalism and the outsourcing of jobs. External factors have caused unions to restructure the unions' internal processes, and some labor union leaders have even changed their motivations in terms of behaviors and values in order to improve and sustain the viability of their organization.

## **Literature That Concurs with Findings**

Much of the literature on leadership is applicable to school leaders. The qualities of shared meanings / shared vision (Berger, 2005; Kearney, 2011; Knowles et al., 2005; Owens & Valesky, 2007; Senge, 1990), collaborative ability (Berger, 2005; Kearney 2011), and intelligence (Kearny, 2011; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991) is iterative in the leadership theory literature.

The concurrent literature regarding internal factors that have affected teachers' unions for the past 50 years include leadership (Bennis, 2009; Goldberg, 1993; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Moe, 2011; Wheatley, 1997) while the external factors that concurred with the literature are collective bargaining and unionism (Allegretto, 2014; Moe, 2011), demographics of teachers in America (Allegretto, 2014; Kahlenberg, 2007). Leadership qualities (Kearney, 2011; Knowles et al., 2005, 1990;

Senge, 1990); pragmatic leadership (Evans, 2007; Kearny, 2011; Moe, 2011; Senge, 1990) and authentic leadership (Northouse, 2001; Senge, 1990) are evident in the literature review and the final study.

### **Literature That Does not Concur With Findings**

The surveyed respondents affirmed the literature that does not concur with all of the findings in the final study. For example, some respondents indicated that apathy was a factor in affecting the strength of union membership; however, apathy was not mentioned in any of the literature. The strength of union member awareness and engagement is strongly prevalent or pronounced with the effectiveness of labor union leadership. Respondents also indicated that it is that how leadership roles were handed down by a chosen president that leads to member ship apathy or lack of engagement. There was some divergence when considering the internal and external factors that have affected teacher labor unions within the past 50 years.

### **Qualities**

While much of the literature was iterative in the study's findings, there was some divergence. Supported by the literature in the survey's development, the respondents' responses diverged from what was expressed the literature. For example, Stern (2006) expressed his need to be pragmatic as he experienced the effects of globalism in the manufacturing sector, as many of those jobs were moved to low wage countries. He wanted to increase the viability, as union membership was in decline because of the adverse effects of globalism. Stern (2006) realized that the health care industry was stable, as health care workers operate closer to the consumer and are not amenable to outsourcing. Therefore, he targeted and organized health care workers to join the SEIU. Although pragmatism was instrumental and purposeful for Stern, the respondents surveyed did not indicate that pragmatism was an essential leadership element for success. The results of the survey ( $n = 6$ , 30%) did not find this element significant, perhaps as a result of the population surveyed.



Northouse (2001) indicated that the element of charisma gave a person superhuman or exceptional leadership powers and is reserved for a few. Charisma has several characteristics, such as being dominant and having a strong desire to influence others. The respondents found charisma to be relatively insignificant ( $n = 6$ , 30%).

According to Bennis (2009), an effective leader must possess several essential competencies:

- Engages others by creating shared meaning
- Has a distinctive voice
- Possesses integrity
- Shows adaptive capacity (resiliency, creativity, and the ability to recognize and seize opportunities and learn from failures (as cited in Kearney, 2011)).

The survey results suggest that shared meaning, collaborative ability, and intelligence were considered to be significant by the respondents ( $n = 13$ , 65%). It is possible that intelligence consists of or is congruent to adaptive capacity. Intelligent leaders would be those that seize opportunities and learn from failures.

Adaptive capacity could also consist of determination. If a leader is intelligent and can adapt, the component of determination can fit within Bennis's (2009) adaptive capacity, too. In other words, adaptive capacity is broad enough to include determination, intelligence, and social drive, although only three participants surveyed indicated they perceived the latter, socially driven to be an element of importance. Briefly, Sandra Feldman is an example of someone who is socially driven, and thereby an extrovert. She has been described as compassionate, worked with all levels of government from city to the federal government. Though Berger (2005) has described Sandra Feldman as an impassioned advocate for public schools who worked with President Bush in the United States Congress to write the No Child Left Behind bill, that imposed stringent guidelines for all schools receiving federal aid; She has epitomized a teacher union leader who has been an extrovert, though this factor is not a significant quality a leader should possess given the findings in the study.

The socially driven quality was used to describe the current president of the CTA, Eric Heins; however, many respondents failed to see this quality as significant. A most likely reason is that there were several choices that have more relevant significance. Furthermore, everyone has a different definition for each of these qualities. Conclusion: the behavior of the leader is precipitated by his or her values or belief system. It is the knowledge of one's belief system and values that instill quality and qualities of leadership

### **Internal Factors**

Prior to the 1930s, collective bargaining was virtually non-existent; the concept of "sovereign authority" (Moe, 2011, p. 33) was the rationale for denying collective bargaining rights to public sector workers. Public officials felt that collective bargaining was an imposition to the government's sovereign authority. They felt that to represent the people, public officials felt they could not do so, if they were bound by collective-bargaining agreements. At that time, before the stock market crash and the Great Depression, the United States was prosperous. Americans such as Henry Ford and the DuPonts benefited from the nation's laissez-faire capitalism policy. It was an era of the assembly line, which saw the mass production of American products. It was an era where the business of America was business, and Americans were producing products for Europe, which was caught up in World War I. Many Americans could also purchase items on credit, which increased demand for American-made items such as cars, refrigerators, and radios. America prospered because the government placed tariffs on imports, which made them expensive to purchase, and so Americans were incentivized to buy items made in America.

Business interests also took precedence over unions and collective bargaining efforts. Moe (2011) expresses this point explicitly: any hindrance to the flow of commerce was an impediment to the business economy. As a result, the battle to organize workers in order to establish collective bargaining

met with fierce opposition, especially for public sector workers. Government employers could make laws to subvert the efforts of collective bargaining, and did. Collective bargaining did not take hold in American society until after the Great Depression.

Prior to the Great Depression, it was that age of industrialism, after World War I there were no workplace regulations, no labor laws, no child labor laws or economic protection for industrial accidents in the workplace. People moved into the cities such as Pittsburgh to work in the steel mills and New York to work in the factories and other cities on the railroads. By the 1930s and 40s United steel workers' union and the United Auto Workers union beginning to spawn and to become a force within society.

Collective bargaining has seen a drastic decline due to the Right to Work legislation that has been passed in 23 states. And the organizing is important for many were union. Respondents to the survey indicated that collective bargaining / organizing ( $n = 14$ , 77.7%) was an internal factor that have affected teachers' unions within the past 60 years. Member apathy and member engagement were also recurrent themes. These elements were not mentioned in the literature.

### **External Factors**

Many respondents were undecided as to whether the civil service reform movement affected teachers' unions within the past 50 years ( $n = 10$ , 58%). Their comments included, "It affected federal employees, not state." Even though it may affect federal employees, federal legislation takes precedence over state law.

Another external factor that the majority of the teachers identified was Right to Work laws. The majority of the teachers strongly agreed in this. This legislation makes it optional for members to pay union dues. Right to Work legislation has had a detrimental effect on workers in America, and is predominantly in place in the South.

The saga of the Nissan workers of Canton Mississippi epitomized the effects of Right to Work legislation. Their struggle with employment issues, rising healthcare costs, and low salaries in the Right to Work state of Mississippi shows how employees may be disadvantaged to the benefit of the employer (Atkins, 2012). The plant relies heavily (40%) on contract or temporary employees who do not receive the same pay and benefits as full-time workers, nor do the workers receive timely medical treatment for workplace injuries. Moreover, employees find it difficult to move from one division to another; job moves are often decided by office politics and favoritism (Atkins, 2012,). And Nissan workers provide a good example of the experiences employees may have in the absence of an employee-employer contract. Right to work laws subvert the essence and the spirit of collective bargaining. The essences of unions are the “voices of people, the embodiment of democratic principles and crucial elements of economic progress and fairness” (Stern. 2006, p. 39).

Prah (2011) recounts the detrimental effects of having millions of manufacturing jobs moved to low-wage countries; entire industries were demolished and a loss of union membership followed. According to Prah (2011), 3 million U.S. factory jobs were lost between 2000 and 2003. Entire industries diminished, and loss of union membership followed. The United Auto Workers, United Steel Workers, United Mine Workers of America, Communication Workers of America, and The Brotherhood of Teamsters are examples of unions whose relevant industries were either outsourced or moved overseas (Prah, 2011).

### **Model of Leadership**

Many of the respondents coalesced around the elements of shared meaning / shared vision, authentic leadership, and transformational leadership. It is incontrovertible that leadership has to be most effective in order to be transformational; members must be engaged in order to be effective in the political arena. Randi Weingarten could balance between worlds. She felt she had to navigate the

perilous waters between education policy reformers and the rank and file union membership. She had to fight for what she determined were the 3 R's: respect for teachers, retention of qualified staff, and resources for schools.

### **Conclusion and Implications**

This society engages in a negative discourse that regards unions as belonging to a bygone era. Perpetuation of legislation such as Right to Work or the Taft-Hartley Act, 1947, which undergird the decline of unions, along with the exportation of the many manufacturing companies to low-wage countries, have placed unions in imminent danger. Teachers' unions are among these. Many teachers have a vested interest in maintaining and sustaining unions and collective bargaining. Therefore, a labor union leader's qualities must exhibit his or her ability to collaborate, exhibit determination, share vision, and meet with members in order to help influence all levels to strengthen membership.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

The literature published on leaders and the qualities that constitute effective leaders, in some sense, is iterative and sufficiently broad enough to allow for several discussions and areas of exploration. For example, future research should form a better understanding of the effectiveness of each leadership quality.

Most of the respondents expressed that collaborative ability (n=18, 90%) was essential for a leader to possess; however, further research may provide an open-ended follow-up survey in which an individual respondent deconstructs his or her idea of what it means to collaborate or to have shared meaning. Following Senge's (1990) definition of shared meaning, which suggests that organizations become learning organizations and implement a systems model approach that changes the perception from seeing teachers as helpless in the face of internal and external factors to seeing them as active

participants shaping their reality and creating their future. Therefore, future research questions could be as follows:

- This survey asked respondents to provide, from their perspective, the internal factors that have affected teachers' unions within the past 50 years. This study asked respondents to expand their answers, using open-ended questions, which allows future researchers to expand the study. Some of the responses included "apathy, members expect things to be done for them instead of working together to get the job done"; "disconnection of the union with general members"; and "lack of member awareness and engagement." This element of apathy was mentioned three times from different respondents. However, a future research question might explore how an effective teacher union leader addresses the elements of apathy, connectedness, and union member engagement. This would require teacher labor unions to become learning organizations (Senge, 1990).
- A third possible future research question is how to get local labor unions to become learning institutions implementing the systems-model approach espoused by Senge (1990) in order to increase member engagement, reduce apathy, and enhance labor union effectiveness and leadership effectiveness.
- Finally, a fourth research question might explore some of the ways in which local labor unions can become learning organizations.

The following methodological enhancements are recommended in order to improve future studies that focus on leadership effectiveness and qualities:

- Expand the number of ways in which the researcher can collect data. The researcher could collect some surveys and perform one-on-one interviews with one to two union leaders.

- Sending a survey via the U.S. mail is ineffective and inefficient. Future research should focus on meeting each potential respondent. This is more efficient, less costly, and forms a different experience for the researcher and the respondent.
- This study surveyed primarily teacher union leaders who had Master's degrees. It is recommended to expand the pool to other union members, such as paraeducationalists or teamsters who are AFL-CIO. Bargaining units demographically have a vast educational pool, and an array of external factors not specific to teachers. Teacher concerns, outside of member engagement, apathy, school reform, and the privatization of public education, are very specific to teachers only.
- It is recommended to have follow-up questions to clarify a respondent's definition of concepts in order to distill distinct precise meanings into the data.

### **Policy Recommendations**

As a result of the study and literature findings, several recommendations can be made at the macro level for teacher union leaders at the elementary and secondary schools. The quality of the teacher union leadership is dependent on the strength and organization of its members. Having quarterly retreats for teachers can allow them to share in the vision of the CTA and be actively engaged. These retreats should be done regularly and make efforts not to be cost prohibitive: this will likely diminish member apathy and increase member engagement. As teachers are stakeholders in the teaching profession, regularly engaging teachers in the internal issues of the local school district is more than likely to dispel membership apathy, as well. Sharing in the vision and meaning of teaching includes organizing the stakeholders—the teachers—in the process of addressing the issues that adversely affect them.

Second, further research could explore best practices for leaders. Leaders need to know whether they are effective in addressing not only the external factors that affect teachers longitudinally (such as the hegemony of the charter school encroachment), in order to avoid damage to the teaching profession, but also need to know whether they are effective on a regional or local level. Perhaps a membership assessment tool could be developed to evaluate teacher union leaders. Having an assessment tool might spur a leader to engage teachers on a more persistent and consistent basis. In so doing, the CTA would have a persistent and consistent presence throughout the state and at the local school district level. It would support and empower small teacher union locals with CTA president visits, for example. Some of the policy recommendations at the state level should apply at the local level in order to make the leadership at the state level aware of the issues and matters that concern teachers at the city and local level.

Another policy recommendation is to develop a rubric or assessment tool to gauge and assess the quality of the union leader. This tool may assess the effectiveness of the leader in informing teachers of the external issues that might adversely affect them.

### **Practitioner Recommendations**

The policy recommendations focus on the ways teachers' unions on a micro level can become a learning organization. The premise is that, if the teachers' union is a strong and effective learning organization on a micro-level, the leadership is likely to be strong and effective as well. Effective leadership diminishes apathy, disengagement, and unawareness so as to eliminate feelings of disconnectedness among members.

For the practitioner, the implications of the research and a literature review of the following recommendations are for each local teacher union leader trying to implement changes to improve or strengthen union membership. As internal factors are numerous, such as strengthening each local union



in order to diminish membership apathy, it is important to implement consistent organizing efforts. Some of the policy recommendations at the state level should apply at the local level.

### **Final Summary**

The research question is “What makes an effective teacher labor union leader?” The first chapter gave an overview of the effects of external factors that have been detrimental to the decline of union membership in this country. The effects of globalism closed billions of manufacturing jobs in the United States and moved them to low-wage countries, coupled with Right to Work and the Taft Hartley Act, 1947, whose main purpose has been to disempower and undermine collective bargaining by making it optional for workers to pay union dues. This thesis suggests that effective leadership requires sustaining collective bargaining and the viability of union membership. This thesis also suggests that authentic, shared meaning is needed for transformational leadership that can withstand and successfully battle the external forces that weaken teacher labor unions.

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## APPENDIX A

### Informed Consent Form to Participate in a Research Study

*Incentives for Participants, labor union leaders, to participate in the following case study: What makes an effective labor union leader?*

**Primary Investigator: Rosie Rogers**

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Robert Barner

Rosie Rogers, a doctoral student at Pepperdine University is conducting a study to explore what qualities make an effective labor leader.

**Purpose and Procedures:** The purpose of this study is to explore the following: What makes an effective labor union leader? Also, this study seeks to examine the personal qualities of labor union leaders and the underlying theories and assumptions that form the foundation of this study.

**Compensation:** There is no cost associated with participation in this study; however, upon completion, participation will receive a \$2.00 lottery ticket as a small token of appreciation.

**Risk/Benefits to the Participant:** Responses to this questionnaire will be kept confidential. No individual names will be used for reporting results or when information about this research is published. Responses will be kept in a secure file. The anonymity and confidentiality of the participant will be strictly enforced.

**Participant's Right to Withdraw from the Study:** At any time participants may elect to withdraw from participating in this research study.

**Voluntary Consent by Participant:** Participation in this study is completely voluntary and individual consent will be indicated through the participant's willingness to complete the survey. Participants are free to withdraw or refuse consent, or to discontinue participation in this study at any time without penalty or consequent.

**Questions:** Any and all questions you may have about the study should be answered prior to the completion of the questionnaire. Please direct your inquiries to Ms. Rosie Rogers at Pepperdine University. If you have questions about the rights of research participants you may call Dr. Robert Barner, at Pepperdine University's Education Division.

## APPENDIX B

## Introductory Letter to Be Included in E-Mail-Mail Packet

Date  
Name  
Title  
Institution  
Street  
City, State, Zip Code

Dear:

I am a doctoral student at Pepperdine University conducting research as part of my fulfillment of my dissertation, *What qualities makes an effective labor union leader?* I am writing to ask for your assistance to take a few moments of your time and complete the enclosed questionnaire and return to me in the enclosed, stamped envelope or email by 11/30. You have been selected to participate in this survey because of your current position as a labor union leader?

The enclosed or attached questionnaire examines the effectiveness of union leaders and the their perspective as to the internal or external environmental factors that enhance or impede their effectiveness as a labor union leader.

This survey is voluntary and your name and institution will remain anonymous. Participants will receive a small token of appreciation, a \$2 lottery ticket, upon completion. The surveys are coded in the lower left hand corner as a means to issue the lottery ticket.

Completion of the survey will take approximately 10 minutes and is to be returned in the enclosed postage paid envelope and by email. If you would like the results of the survey, you can contact me at [Rosie.Rogers@pepperdine.edu](mailto:Rosie.Rogers@pepperdine.edu)

Regards,

Rosie Rogers, M.A.



## APPENDIX C

### Survey Instructions

This questionnaire examines the qualities that make an effective labor union leader, the motivations and leadership qualities, along with the internal and external factors that may enhance or impede leadership qualities.

Check all answers that are applicable to each question (you can select as many or little as you of your choice).

Please be as accurate as possible in answering each question. There is no right or wrong answer. Your answers should be what actually occur as opposed to what should you believe or how you think people should perceive it.

## APPENDIX D

## Survey Questions: Correlation with Research

**Correlates with R.Q. 1:** What are the qualities of an effective leader?

**Part 1: Some researchers posit certain qualities comprise an effective labor union leader. Please put a check mark next to the qualities you deem to comprise an effective leader.**

Shared meaning/shared vision		(Berger, 2005; Kearney, 2011; Knowles et al., 2005, 1990; Senge, 1990; Ozmon & Craver, 1995)
Influence		Goldberg, 1993 Warner, 2015)
Compassion		(Kearney, 2011; Medina, 2008)
Pragmatism		(Evans, 2007; Goldberg, 1993; Kearney, 2011)
Collaborative ability		(Berger, 2005; Kearney, 2011)
Charisma		(Northouse, 2001)
Extroversion		(Berger, 2005; Stern, 2006)
Social Drive		(Kahlenberg, 2007; Kearney, 2011)
Self-Confidence		(Bennis, 2009;Kearney, 2011;)
Intelligence		(Kearney, 2011; Kirkpatrick and Locke, 1991)
Determination		(Berger, 2005; Stern, 2006; Kearney, 2011)

**2. Correlates with R.Q. 2:** What are the internal and external factors that have affected teachers' unions for the past 50 years? Retention of credentialed teachers have declined due to internal and external factors that have adversely affected teachers. Please briefly explain some of the internal factors that have adversely affected your membership.

<b>Internal factors</b>	<b>Research</b>
Leadership	(Bennis, 2009; Goldberg; 1993; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Moe, 2011; Wheatley, 1997; Warren & Powell, 2000)
Collective Bargaining (organizing and strengthening union membership)	(AFT, n.d.; NEA, 2002/2005; Stern, 2006)

**Correlates with R.Q. 2 (cont.):** Retention of credentialed teachers have declined due to internal and external factors that have adversely affected teachers. **Please briefly explain some of the external factors that have adversely affected your membership.**

<b>External factors</b>	
Patronage, Moe, 2011	Standards-Based Movement (1980s) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Lead to the Common Core-implementation of content standards</li> </ul>
Executive Order 1098	Nation at Risk 1983
Civil Service Reform Movement 1930s-40s	Goals 2000 (Opportunity to learn)—lead to coherent and uniformity among states regarding standards and assessments
Right to Work legislation	NESIC/ESEA- provides federal funding for states for the implementation of standards/movement, which lead to Common Core. The purpose of which to close the achievement gap between white and students of color.
Condon-Wadlin Act 1947	Standards-based movement (1980s)
Taft-Hartley Act, 1947	Goals 2000 (Opportunity to learn)- required coherence and uniformity among states regarding standards and assessments.
	NESIC/ESEA- provided the funding for implementation of standards/movement which lead to Common Core standards, the purpose of which is to close achievement gap between white and students of color

**3. Correlates with R.Q. 3:** Using the survey results and the literature, what model emerges that describes an effective labor union leader? **Research has illustrated that leaders possess certain personal traits/qualities that comprise an effective labor union leader, please indicate with a check mark next to the leadership trait (s) you deem leaders possess that makes them an effective leader.**

Leadership Theory	Check mark	Research
Shared meaning/shared vision		(Berger, 2005; Church, 2006; Kearney, 2011; Knowles et al., 2005, 1990)
Pragmatic leader		(Evans, 2007; Kearney, 2011; McCrae & Costa, 2003; Moe, 2011; Senge, 1990)
Authentic leadership		(Melden, 1967; Northouse, 2001; Senge, 1990)
Servant Leadership		(Frick, 2004)
Ethical leadership		(Melden, 1967; Northouse, 2001)
Transformational Leadership		(Kearney, 2011; Stone et al., 2004)

## APPENDIX E

## Demographics

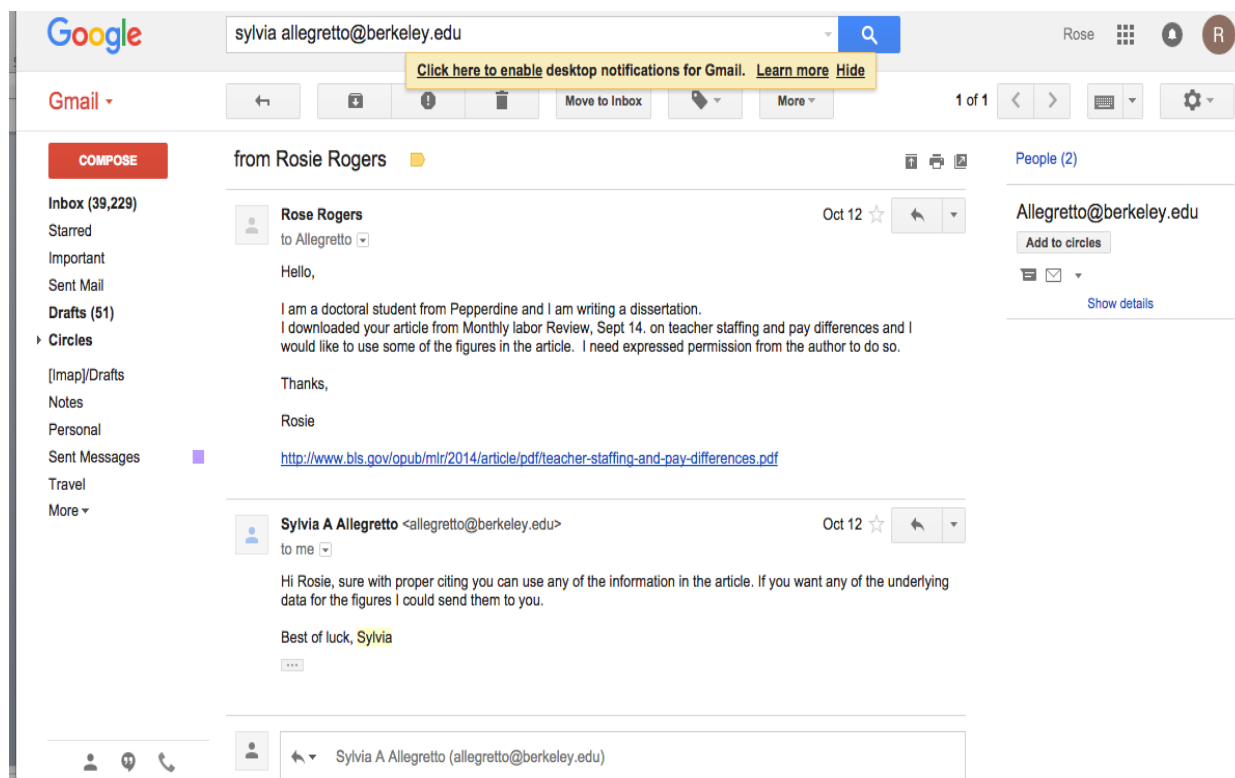
Please circle one

1. Gender: \_\_\_\_\_ Male/Female
2. Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Race: \_\_\_\_\_ (optional)
3. Number of years you have worked as a labor union leader: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Number of years you have worked as a teacher union representative or union leader:
  - If yes, what position do you hold: \_\_\_\_\_
5. How many years have you been a member of the union? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Your highest level of academic achievement?
  - Bachelor's degree
  - Master's degree
  - Doctorate degree
  - Other: Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Number of school districts/organizations where you have taught during the following:
  - 2 years
  - 3 years
  - 4 years
  - 5 plus
  - If more, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
8. How many years have you taught prior to becoming a labor union leader? Please specify:
  - 2 years
  - 3 years
  - 4 years
  - 5 plus
  - If more, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX F

## Copyright Material

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## APPENDIX G

## IRB Approval Notice

## COLLABORATIVE INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING INITIATIVE (CITI PROGRAM)

## COMPLETION REPORT - PART 1 OF 2

## COURSEWORK REQUIREMENTS\*

\* NOTE: Scores on this Requirements Report reflect quiz completions at the time all requirements for the course were met. See list below for details. See separate Transcript Report for more recent quiz scores, including those on optional (supplemental) course elements.

- Name: rosie rogers (ID: 5248425)
- Institution Affiliation: Pepperdine University (ID: 1729)
- Institution Email: rosie.rogers@pepperdine.edu
- Institution Unit: GSEP
- Phone: [REDACTED]
- Curriculum Group: GSEP Education Division
- Course Learner Group: GSEP Education Division - Social-Behavioral-Educational (SBE)
- Stage: Stage 1 - Basic Course
- Record ID: 18094978
- Completion Date: 13-Dec-2015
- Expiration Date: 11-Dec-2020
- Minimum Passing: 80
- Reported Score\*: 85

REQUIRED AND ELECTIVE MODULES ONLY	DATE COMPLETED	SCORE
Belmont Report and CITI Course Introduction (ID: 1127)	11-Dec-2015	3/3 (100%)
History and Ethical Principles - SBE (ID: 490)	13-Dec-2015	5/5 (100%)
Defining Research with Human Subjects - SBE (ID: 491)	11-Dec-2015	5/5 (100%)
The Federal Regulations - SBE (ID: 502)	11-Dec-2015	4/5 (80%)
Assessing Risk - SBE (ID: 503)	13-Dec-2015	5/5 (100%)
Informed Consent - SBE (ID: 504)	11-Dec-2015	4/5 (80%)
Privacy and Confidentiality - SBE (ID: 505)	11-Dec-2015	2/5 (40%)

For this Report to be valid, the learner identified above must have had a valid affiliation with the CITI Program subscribing institution identified above or have been a paid Independent Learner.

Verify at: [www.citiprogram.org/verify/?id=162204a-f517-4d11-a440-8d8ae644e1f1-18094978](http://www.citiprogram.org/verify/?id=162204a-f517-4d11-a440-8d8ae644e1f1-18094978)

Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI Program)

Email: [support@citiprogram.org](mailto:support@citiprogram.org)

Phone: 888-529-5929

Web: <http://www.citiprogram.org>

**COLLABORATIVE INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING INITIATIVE (CITI PROGRAM)**  
**COMPLETION REPORT - PART 1 OF 2**  
**COURSEWORK TRANSCRIPT\*\***

\*\* NOTE: Scores on this Transcript Report reflect the most current quiz completions, including quizzes on optional (supplemental) elements of the course. See list below for details. See separate Requirements Report for the reported scores at the time all requirements for the course were met.

- Name: rsale.rogers (ID: 5248425)
- Institution Affiliation: Pepperdine University (ID: 1725)
- Institution Email: rsale.rogers@pepperdine.edu
- Institution Unit: GSEP
- Phone: 3109902095
  
- Curriculum Group: GSEP Education Division
- Course Learner Group: GSEP Education Division - Social-Behavioral-Educational (SBE)
- Stage: Stage 1 - Basic Course
  
- Record ID: 10004070
- Report Date: 28-Mar-2017
- Current Score\*\*:

REQUIRED, ELECTIVE, AND SUPPLEMENTAL MODULES	MOST RECENT	SCORE
History and Ethical Principles - SBE (ID: 490)	13-Dec-2015	5/5 (100%)
Defining Research with Human Subjects - SBE (ID: 491)	11-Dec-2015	5/5 (100%)
Solmont Report and CITI Course Introduction (ID: 1127)	11-Dec-2015	3/3 (100%)
The Federal Regulations - SBE (ID: 502)	11-Dec-2015	4/5 (80%)
Assessing Risk - SBE (ID: 503)	13-Dec-2015	5/5 (100%)
Informed Consent - SBE (ID: 504)	11-Dec-2015	4/5 (80%)
Privacy and Confidentiality - SBE (ID: 505)	11-Dec-2015	2/5 (40%)

For this Report to be valid, the learner identified above must have had a valid affiliation with the CITI Program subscribing institution identified above or have been a paid Independent Learner.

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Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI Program)  
 Email: [support@citiprogram.org](mailto:support@citiprogram.org)  
 Phone: 888-324-5829  
 Web: <http://www.citiprogram.org>